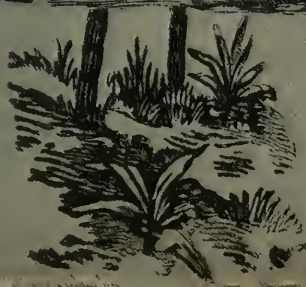
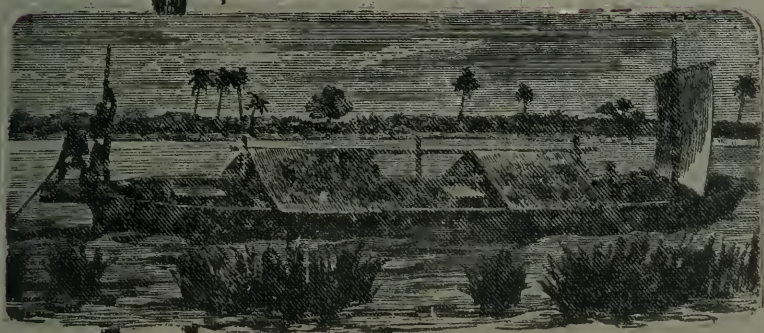


CHARLES A. GOLLMER

HIS LIFE AND MISSIONARY

LABOURS IN

WEST AFRICA



BY HIS ELDEST SON



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C. A. Gollmer.

CHARLES ANDREW GOLLMER,

His Life and Missionary Labours in West Africa.

*COMPILED FROM HIS JOURNALS AND THE CHURCH
MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS*

BY HIS ELDEST SON.

WITH A PREFACE BY

T. FOWELL BUXTON, ESQ.

WITH PHOTOGRAPH AND TWENTY-NINE ILLUSTRATIONS

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P R E F A C E.

NEVER in the world's history has there been so great or so beneficial a change in a vast extent of country, in a comparatively short period, as has taken place in West Africa in the past half-century.

Fifty years ago, the west coast was a prey to all the horrors of the slave-trade. Tribal wars, which devastated regions as large as England or France, were waged to meet the insatiable greed of the Arab slave-hunters. The miserable victims who were captured—few in number compared to those who were killed—were driven with inexpressible cruelty, and with fearful loss of life, to the coast, where they were sold to the Spanish or Portuguese slave-dealers, who conveyed them, stowed as closely as possible in the foul holds of slave-ships, to Cuba or Brazil.

To quote one instance of the many horrors that were witnessed by those on board the cruisers.

Early in 1837, H.M. brig *Dolphin* captured the corvette *Incomprehensible*. On taking possession of her, "the scene presented on board was harrowing in the extreme. One hundred had died from sickness

out of the eight hundred embarked ; another hundred were lying nearly lifeless on her decks, in wretchedness and misery, and all the agony of despair ; the remaining six hundred were so cramped, from the close manner in which they were packed (like herrings in a barrel), and the length of time they had been on their voyage, and the cold they had endured in a state of nudity, that it took the utmost exertion of the English sailors to straighten them."

The only check to this iniquity was the vigilance of the English cruisers. They captured many of the slave-ships ; but the gains were so enormous that it was computed that, even if one ship were captured out of four, the trader made a large profit ; and as the extent of coast to be watched made an efficient blockade impossible, the horrible trade flourished in spite of all efforts to suppress it. One of the chief ports of export of slaves was Lagos, a town situated on a lagoon on the coast in the Bight of Benin. Captain Maclean, Governor of Cape Coast Castle, in 1838 estimated the number of slaves annually taken from the Bights of Benin and Biafra alone at 140,000.

Compare this state of things with that which we see at the present time. The slave-trade on the west coast abolished, and replaced by legitimate trade, which is advancing at Lagos "by leaps and bounds," as Mr. H. H. Johnston asserted in his lecture on January 15th, 1889, before the Colonial Institute.

Fifty years ago, little or nothing was known of the

interior of Africa. Some travellers—Park, Lander, Clapperton, and others—had indeed attempted to explore portions of the Dark Continent. The mouths of the large rivers, such as the Senegal, Gambia, Niger, Congo, Orange River, and the Zambesi, were of course known; but these magnificent streams, destined to become the highways to Africa, had not been to any extent ascended or explored.

The maps of that date show a fringe of places on the coast, but the interior is, with few exceptions, a vast blank. Not only was there little knowledge, but there was still less interest shown by any, except a few philanthropists, in Africa or the Africans.

Merchants declined to risk their goods where the normal condition of the country was one of war, devastation, and rapine.

The Church Missionary Society, the object of whose foundation was to evangelize "Africa and the East," sent a succession of their agents to Sierra Leone, but the mortality among them was so tremendous that even the boldest friends of missions were appalled by it.

It was under these discouraging circumstances, and in spite of dangers from the climate and from the hostility of the natives, that in 1852 the subject of this memoir proceeded to Lagos to establish a mission; and so greatly have the labours of Mr. Gollmer and his coadjutors and successors been blest, that at the present time there is a flourishing Christian com-

munity ; five churches, one of which is built on the site of a former slave-barracoon ; a training institution ; a female institution ; and a grammar school, where once the slave-trade and its attendant horrors were rampant.

May we not thankfully say that the desert has blossomed as the rose, and that instead of the thorn has come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier has come up the myrtle-tree ?

“ It is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.”

T. FOWELL BUXTON.

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[The compiler is much indebted to the Church Missionary Society for all but four of the above Illustrations.]

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS AND CALL TO MISSIONARY WORK.

CHARLES ANDREW GOLLMER was born on St. Andrew's Day, November 30th, 1812, at Kirchheim-under-Teck, in the kingdom of Wurttemberg, Germany. It was the constant and earnest prayer of his pious parents that he might become a faithful disciple and servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, even as St. Andrew was. They endeavoured to train up their children in the fear and admonition of the Lord, and encouraged them in early life to study their Bibles. When only nine years old, Charles Gollmer was deprived of the help and guidance of his father, who died suddenly when away from home. At the age of fourteen he was confirmed, but of himself he says, at this time: "Though well-instructed in religious knowledge, my promise to serve and love God was not with my heart and soul."

No less than four times he experienced God's gracious providential dealings with him, in preserving him when in danger of losing his life.

Concerning these circumstances he says: "I saw the hand of God in all this, and felt that I should

give my heart and life to Jesus ; but loving the world, I kept not what I promised, though my conscience told me that I was a sinner, more than others, and that God must punish me."

"My parents" (he had now a pious stepfather) "prayed and worked patiently and perseveringly for my spiritual welfare.

"As my stepfather tried to distribute the periodicals of the Basle and Calwer mission in our town, I became acquainted with mission work abroad and at home, but I had no desire at that time to become a missionary, for I knew not the love of Jesus in my heart."

In 1834, when staying in Basle, he joined the Young Men's Christian Association in that place. "In the communion of the Lord's people," he writes, "the Lord Himself appeared to my soul, and showed to me the deep depravity of my heart, but also the grace in Jesus Christ our Lord. The love of God entered my heart, and I longed to do something for my Saviour, Who gave Himself for me. It seemed as if nothing would be too hard for me to do or to suffer for Him. As I read and studied God's Word, I felt constrained to offer myself for the service of the Lord.

"About Easter 1835 I decided to offer myself to the Basle mission. A friend of mine (who afterwards died in Islington) was at that time in the Basle Mission-house, and I opened my heart to him. However, I felt my unworthiness and weakness deeply, so that I was almost tempted to despair ; but I could not find rest till I had made my application to the Basle Mission

Early Days and call to Missionary Work. 3

Committee, and had left the whole matter to the Lord, praying that He would show me whether He had chosen me for His service.

“As I had decided to follow my Saviour and serve Him, I wrote to my parents telling them what the Lord had done for me, and what I was resolved to do for Him. With tears of joy and thankfulness, they not only consented to the desire of my heart, but also encouraged me in the step I had taken. I felt that if I consecrated myself to God it must be a full and living sacrifice, coming from pure love to Jesus, Who gave His life for me. I wanted to live to the honour of God and for the welfare of my fellow-men. Whether, therefore, I be accepted by the Committee or not, the Lord be my helper!”

He was accepted by the Basle Mission Society, and entered the College in the autumn of 1835, where he remained until September 1840. “These years,” says a younger sister, “were quite a time of refreshing for the whole family, a time of spiritual joy, especially when the dear brother spent the times of vacation at home.”

In 1840 he came to the Church Missionary College at Islington. He was the fourth missionary who came from Kirchheim and who entered the service of the C.M.S. At that time great interest was shown in the mission cause, owing to the fact that Dr. Bahnmeier, a devoted servant of God, then vicar of Kirchheim, had aroused the people to their duty in connection with the great work; and that the Duchess Henrietta of Nassau, residing in Kirchheim, had invited the mission-

aries to her house, and had shown her love to the work in various ways.

In 1841 Mr. Gollmer was ordained Deacon and Priest by Bishop Blomfield. In the same year, on August 19th, he married Catherine Schmidt of Basle; and on October 28th Mr. and Mrs. Gollmer embarked at Gravesend on board the *Roslin Castle* for Sierra Leone. They were accompanied by the Rev. J. V. and Mrs. Graf, the Rev. H. and Mrs. Rhodes, the Rev. C. T. and Mrs. Frey, and Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds, and arrived safely on December 1st.

In the Instructions of the Committee to this party of missionaries, it was recommended that in the location of the several individuals regard should be had to the facilities for prosecuting the study of the native language; and that as far as possible each newly-arrived missionary should, in the first instance, be stationed with one who had been some time in the colony.

Accordingly, Mr. Gollmer was stationed at Regent with the Rev. N. C. Haastrup. Before the close of the first month after their arrival the missionaries were called upon, under God's mysterious providence, to pass through deep waters. Both Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds were called away after a short illness, and on February 11th, 1842, Mrs. Gollmer succumbed to the African fever. She particularly requested her husband, with her dying breath, to tell their relations and friends that she had never regretted having come to Africa. The Rev. N. C. Haastrup writes, March 1842: "Thus another dear sister, who appeared to be eminently

fitted for the work of faith and labour of love among the African females, ended her short pilgrimage just when she had begun to make herself useful." Shortly after these trying circumstances Mr. Gollmer was appointed to the ministerial charge of Charlotte, to which that of Bathurst was added, on the removal of the Rev. C. T. Frey to Kent, which took place on August 15th. In describing his feelings on removing from Regent to Charlotte, Mr. Gollmer makes some pleasing references to the state of both stations. He writes, June 1842 : " I was soon cheered up, and could rejoice in being called to glorify God in so holy a work, especially as I was permitted to witness such clear evidence of the grace of God working in and among our black brethren ; the sick and afflicted being patient and confiding in God, the dying only trusting in Christ our Redeemer, and others being indubitably upright ; so that I sympathized with their compunction of conscience on account of sin, and their anxiety to be admitted into our Church. But just as I thus began to feel the ties which bind a minister to his congregation, and had fixed my mind upon my station, and arranged the affairs of my house, I was to be exercised with the painful experience of seeing those ties disconnected."

Again, May 8th : " This being the first Lord's Day after my appointment to Charlotte, I went there to keep service, although I did not feel well. As I returned home I observed, in some houses which I passed, several assembled, reading their Bibles ; and I felt as if the bonds just broken at Regent were already

being fixed upon another congregation." On October 17th he, together with Messrs. Weeks and Jones, paid a visit to Port Lokhoh, the seat of the Timmannee Mission. The missionaries at that time in charge of this station were the Revs. Messrs. Schlenker and Schmid. With regard to this visit Mr. Jones writes : "The missionaries are making daily progress in their translations; the Word is publicly preached, they are acquiring greater facility in speaking the language, and they have free access to the people at their own houses. The place, too, appears healthy, and the brethren enjoy unusual health."

Mr. Gollmer was much encouraged in the work at Bathurst. December 1842 he writes : "One thing, cheering for me to communicate and for you to know, is, that I have here a little flock who have heard the voice of the Good Shepherd and follow Him. Several of my predecessors have taken particular care of this people, and have endeavoured to bring Christ near to them, and them near to Christ ; and I am thankful to say that it has not been in vain. They have a simple but sound knowledge of God and their own hearts ; yea, I have been rejoiced when they have come to me, or when I have visited them, to hear their expressions of true faith in Christ. They are all now anxious to be baptized, which blessing I shall not long withhold from them ; for who will forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we ? "

February 19th, 1843 : " This being the day appointed for the admission of several adults into the Church



BATHURST, SIERRA LEONE.

of Christ by Holy Baptism, our church at Bathurst exhibited no common, but a peculiarly pleasing appearance this morning. The candidates for baptism were fifteen, four men and eleven women; of which number there were three men with their wives. They were seated in front of the congregation, all neatly dressed in white, and very clean. Although this delightful appearance cheered my heart not a little, I was still more gratified by the assurance of their sincerity and humble reliance on Christ our Lord, of which I had many an opportunity of ascertaining whilst preparing them for this sacred rite, and examining them individually. All of them had committed to memory the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed; all had attended Sunday School, some for five, others for three or two years, *i.e.*, as long as they had been under preparation for baptism. They had learnt to read their Bibles with the exception of four rather aged persons, who found it difficult to keep pace with the others. I baptized them, with two children, after the Second Lesson, when, and especially during the sermon, there appeared a grateful rejoicing among them."

On July 16th, owing to the illness of Mr. Weeks, Mr. Gollmer officiated for him in Regent Church. He thus describes the impression produced upon his mind by the attention and devotional appearance of a large congregation of about nine hundred Africans: "The congregation in the morning, as well as in the evening, was most cheering, being not less attentive than numerous. I have often wished it were possible for

our friends to witness what the Lord has done, and is doing, among the Africans. I am sure that even the sight of so numerous an assembly, but much more their devotion, would afford great consolation and encouragement to those of our friends at home who have laid their hands on the African plough; as well as afford convincing evidence to those who still think that the time is not yet come for the evangelization of Africa, who consequently forbear joining hands with us in this work of faith."

Mr. Gollmer was united in marriage to Eliza Phillips at Kiskey, by the Rev. J. F. Schön, on November 30th, 1843.

CHAPTER II.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE YORUBA MISSION.

UNTIL the end of June 1844 Bathurst was under the pastoral care of Mr. Gollmer, and Charlotte under that of the Rev. C. F. Ehemann ; but subsequently Mr. Ehemann was placed in charge of both villages, in order that Mr. Gollmer might be in readiness to accompany the Rev. H. Townsend and the Rev. S. Crowther to the Yoruba country.

Meanwhile various preparatory measures were adopted with a view to the establishment of a mission in the Yoruba country, so soon as the way should be opened. Mr. Townsend's important and successful visit to Badagry and Abeokuta in 1842 was the first definite step in preparing the way for the new mission.

The liberated Africans, and especially the Yorubas, residing at Sierra Leone, had for some time expressed their earnest desire to return to their own country. A commercial intercourse had already been established between Sierra Leone and Badagry by some of these people ; but this visit of Mr. Townsend and the favourable report that he brought was the means of inducing many more of these affectionate people to return home

to Yoruba. So that Mr. Graf writes: "In consequence of the favourable news from the Yoruba country there are hundreds making preparations for leaving the colony by the end of this year" (1843).

August 19th, 1843, Mr. Gollmer writes: "This morning one of our young Bathurst men, who went to Jamaica twelve months since, and who has returned to get married, came to me with a benefaction for our society of £2, which he and four of his friends, all young men from Bathurst, had contributed toward establishing a mission in their native country, Yoruba."

February 20th, 1844: "A great number of Yorubas have lately returned to their fatherland, and a still larger party are preparing. They have bought another large vessel, so that there are now not less than five vessels going to and fro from Sierra Leone to the Yoruba country."

Mr. Crowther was for some time busily engaged in making translations into the Yoruba language, besides his many other duties; while Mr. Gollmer spent much time in the study of the language, and in preparing two houses for the new mission.

September 1844 he writes: "The acquirement of the Yoruba language has taken up by far the greater portion of my time during the quarter. My two interpreters, whom I have daily employed from half-past nine till two, endeavour to help me on as much as possible; they are not only intelligent men, but good Yoruba scholars, especially one, who is the son of a chief, and whom I intend to take with me to the Yoruba country, as, by the blessing of God, he may

hereafter prove useful, especially in exploring that country. My vocabulary, consisting of two parts, Yoruba and English and English and Yoruba, contains upwards of one thousand words in each part. I have collected a good number of sentences, and translated the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the first two chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew from the original. In the erection of the two houses for the new mission, which are being prepared under my superintendence, good progress is being made, and they will no doubt be finished, so far as they can be here, before the time required."

At the close of the year (1844) Mr. Ehemann went to Kent for change of air, and in consequence the ministerial duties of Bathurst and Charlotte again devolved upon Mr. Gollmer. These duties, together with the necessary preparations for the new mission and the obtaining of a suitable vessel, tried his strength very much, and he writes: "I became weak, but the Lord strengthened me; I became sick, and He raised me up again."

On the arrival of the Rev. H. and Mrs. Townsend at Sierra Leone on December 3rd, it was of the greatest importance that no time should be lost, in order that they and the other missionaries appointed to the Yoruba Mission might be able to reach Abeokuta before the rainy season should commence.

In the good providence of God an American vessel, possessing peculiarly suitable accommodation for the purpose, happened to be in the harbour of Freetown at the time, and was immediately engaged to convey

the missionaries to Badagry. The party, which consisted of the Rev. S. and Mrs. Crowther, Mr. and Mrs. Townsend, Mr. and Mrs. Gollmer, and four native teachers, sailed on December 18th, 1844.

On this subject the Rev. J. Warburton writes, January 16th, 1845: "Thus have we witnessed one of the most interesting and important events that have taken place in this mission—the Society's missionary plant in Sierra Leone sending forth another branch, laden with the firstfruits of God's blessing on missionary labour here, in answer to the prayers of His servants at home, to another part of the coast of West Africa."

After a prosperous voyage, the missionaries arrived at Badagry on January 17th, 1845. Then followed several busy days: "These five work-days" (January 18th-24th), writes Mr. Gollmer, "all hands were engaged in the most arduous and exciting job of seeing our goods and houses landed and conveyed to Badagry. Every morning Mr. Townsend, Mr. Crowther, and I went to the beach, more than a mile distant, and after a hard day's work and much exposure to the sun we returned to Badagry. Special difficulties had to be overcome, owing to the violence of the surf and the dishonesty of some of the labourers. January 25th: Spent nearly the whole day in paying our labourers in cowries, a job which in English coin could be done in less than an hour, as it did not exceed £20."

On their first arrival, and for some weeks afterwards, the missionary party were hospitably entertained at the residence of the Rev. S. Annear, Wesleyan missionary.

Owing to the death of chief Shodeki of Abeokuta, Messrs. Townsend and Crowther were detained upwards of eighteen months at Badagry. During this time one important visit was made to the Egba encampment at Ado; but being precluded from settling in the interior the missionaries began to turn their attention to the spiritual wants of the mixed population of Badagry. A temporary church was commenced, and a tree, in a convenient situation, was fixed upon, under the shades of which the truths of the Gospel might be proclaimed. A native-built house was soon erected, and the frame-house, which Mr. Gollmer had brought from Sierra Leone, was put up.

The Rev. S. Crowther writes, March 2nd: "Mr. Gollmer and myself went out this morning to select a suitable spot, under a tree, from which to preach to the people; we fixed upon a spot under an umbrella tree, between two markets, when I preached to a congregation of about two hundred and fifty persons. They were very attentive."

Again, March 9th, Mr. Townsend writes: "To-day I proceeded with Mr. Crowther to the preaching place. A good congregation was assembled, and heard with attention Mr. Crowther's address to them. While we were out Mr. Gollmer opened our new church, and on our return we partook together of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In the afternoon I preached in our church; about sixty persons were present. Previous to the morning service we opened a Sunday School, the first ever seen in Badagry; we had about forty scholars." During the first few weeks of their stay

at Badagry all the members of the Mission, except Mr. Crowther, suffered much at different times.

On April 11th the little missionary band was weakened by the removal of Mrs. Gollmer, after a painful illness of three months. She died in peace. Her remains were committed to the grave on the following evening by the Rev. H. Townsend.

Mr. Crowther writes, April 12th: "This is the first Christian funeral that has ever been publicly performed in this country. Many of the natives, out of curiosity, accompanied us to the church and to the burial-ground, to witness the burial of a Christian. Though our dear sister is dead, yet she speaks to the natives around, and shows the difference between the death of a saint and that of a heathen. The scene of this day will not soon wear away from the minds of those who were present, about one hundred and fifty persons. The chiefs, having been informed of our mournful bereavement, sent their messengers to express their sympathy with us."

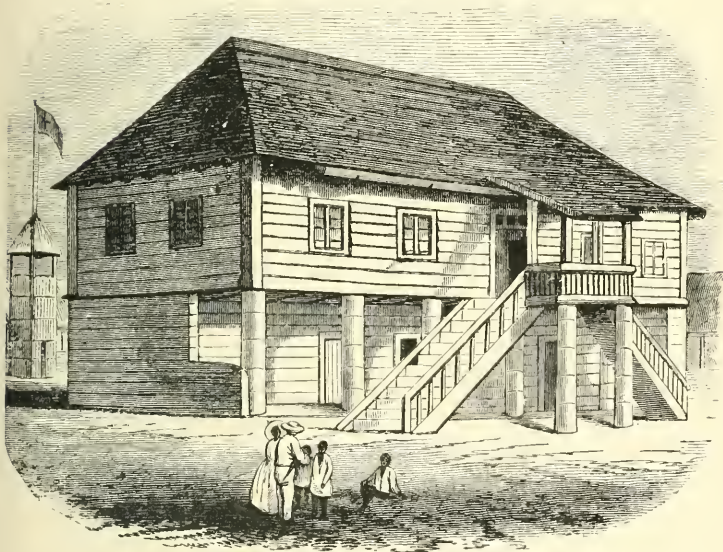
This was a truly heavy trial to Mr. Gollmer; but the necessary grace was given, and while one worker was called to higher service the others remained to prosecute the work below. Shortly after this solemn event, the missionaries removed from the country-made house, which they had occupied since February 22nd, to their new frame-house built by Mr. Gollmer.

Mr. Townsend writes, June 5th: "The house is strong and convenient, and will prove very comfortable. During its erection many persons have come to see it, expressing their unqualified admiration of it, especially

Commencement of the Yoruba Mission. 17

of the shingle roof, it being the first they have ever seen."

Mr. Gollmer adds: "The house is built of sound African wood, principally of what we call brimstone. It is ten feet raised from the ground, on twenty-six



MISSION HOUSE AT BADAGRY.

stout and durable trees, called cabbage trees, and a species of the cocoanut tree, and on nine other smaller trees. The length is forty-four feet and the breadth twenty-six feet. The Society has now a good, durable, and comfortable house at Badagry for many a year. The cost is estimated at £325."

With regard to the town itself, Miss Tucker writes, in her book "Abeokuta": "Badagry is a good-sized town, standing on the northern shore of the lagoon, and numbering about 11,000 inhabitants. These are



GODS OF THE POPOS REGALING THEMSELVES.

almost all Popos (same tribe as the Dahomians), and are in a fearfully demoralized state; but there are a few Yorubas, and among them some Sierra Leone emigrants.

"Badagry was anything but a pleasant or promising

station ; the slave trade, and the unlimited indulgence in rum supplied to them by the European slave ships, had led the people far deeper into brutality and vice than those of the surrounding smaller towns. They seemed swallowed up in sensual enjoyments, and their selfish avarice rendered it very difficult for the missionary to obtain an intelligent listener.

× “ The idolatry of the Popos is of the most debasing character : they have Ifa and Shango and the other deities of the Yorubas, but have added others to them ; their national deity is a black, venomous snake, to whom they pay great respect, and they avowedly worship the evil spirit himself. Human sacrifices are not unfrequent, and the bones scattered round the fetish-houses tell of many such deeds of darkness.

“ The people of Badagry are slaves to superstitious fear, and not even their sordid love of money hinders them from lavishing it on swarms of priests and priestesses, who have little difficulty in turning the fears and credulity of their neighbours to their own advantage.”

CHAPTER III.

SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES.

GREAT were the difficulties under which the work was prosecuted at Badagry; owing to the unsettled state of the country, the missionaries were not only prevented from proceeding to Abeokuta, but were also subject to considerable alarm respecting their own personal security at Badagry.

×The first event of importance that occurred was a distressing and sanguinary rebellion at Lagos, a town on the coast about forty miles to the east of Badagry. Kosoko, a rebel chief, deposed Akitoye, the rightful king of Lagos, and then threatened to destroy Badagry.

Concerning this Mr. Gollmer writes, August 18th, 1845: "Akitoye the king left Lagos and went to Abeokuta; the Portuguese suffered the loss of nearly all their property at Lagos, and the whole town is nearly destroyed. It is well known that Kosoko will not rest satisfied until he shall have chastised his old foes, among whom the people here (Badagry) are perhaps the first."

Later on, Mr. Townsend writes: "We are informed that preparations are being made by Lagos, Porto Novo,

and Adu to commence hostilities against Badagry, with a view to its entire destruction, so soon as the season shall permit. The constant enmity which seems to influence the various petty states around us is a great barrier to our work ; it prevents our moving about to extend our influence and make known the gospel of peace, and produces a constant sense of insecurity in our breasts."

Further difficulties were apprehended in the probable revival of the slave-trade at Badagry. The missionaries were informed that the Badagry chiefs expected two slave vessels from Lagos, which they were to have the advantage of loading with slaves ; it appears that two of the chiefs were principally concerned in the movement, one of them an evil-disposed man, but the other, it was believed, acquiescing principally because he was the agent of the Portuguese at Badagry.

Mr. Townsend writes : "There is a great struggle going on among the people ; there are those who are interested in the English residing here, and those who begin to feel the evil of the slave-trade. Those who formerly used to get all the trade in Badagry now get none ; and those who formerly got nothing now get all. The old slave-trading party, therefore, wish to obtain what they formerly had, and finding that the slave-trade cannot be carried on as it used to be while white men are here, they would be glad to get us out of the way if they knew how ; to do it violently would be to cause a civil war. The storm that has been gathering around us seems to grow more and more heavy ; but while we view it with apprehension we

can trust our everlasting Friend and Protector. Our experience of God's care leads us to trust in Him, and look for not only deliverance, but mercies and blessings, arising out of the evils that threaten us."

Notwithstanding the many hindrances, direct and indirect, experienced by the missionaries, the work was continued with some degree of regularity. The services were held, the schools kept open, and special visits made to the principal inhabitants of Badagry. Missionary excursions to neighbouring villages were also attempted by the missionaries as opportunity offered.

Mr. Gollmer visited Poka, nine miles from Badagry, with a population of four thousand. Here Mr. Crowther and he were courteously received. He also visited Ajido on the Ossa towards Lagos. The chief here was very friendly, and promised to send one of his sons to a boarding-school which Mr. Gollmer had lately established in the mission premises. He was accompanied in this visit by a Sierra Leone Christian, who with unspeakable thankfulness pointed out to him the barracoon, in which he had, eighteen years before, been confined for three months, and from which he had been shipped by his Portuguese purchasers.

Various were the excuses given for detaining the children at home, and not allowing them to attend school. One was prohibited, they said, by Shango, the god of thunder; another by Oshon, the goddess of the river. When expostulated with on account of their superstition and idolatry, their reply would invariably be, "It is our custom; our fathers did so, and so must we."

Mr. Gollmer relates that on one occasion he went to see the god Ossain. This god is said to have the gift of speech. "We went on purpose to hear him speak, but when we got there we were told that the man who interprets, or who speaks for him, was not at home. To our question, whether Ossain could not speak without that man, the people present said that the man had taken his voice away."

On going to another house on business, he saw a large variety of fetishes; and, what is remarkable above all, an old picture of Napoleon stuck against the wall. They were positive that this was one of their gods.

On September 20th, owing to the upsetting of a canoe, Mr. Gollmer was nearly drowned, but by the mercy of God he was saved by the prompt assistance of the canoe-men, and delivered from a watery grave.

With the extinction of the slave-trade the education of the natives in agriculture is intimately, although not directly, connected.

February 27th, 1846: "During the last few weeks the monotony of Badagry has been pleasingly interrupted by an impulse given to agriculture. A piece of ground, two hundred and ten feet wide and two hundred and eighty feet long, belonging to us, and only separated from our premises by a public road, and reaching to the edge of the river, has been fenced in and divided into fifteen lots among ourselves and our people. Soon after the lots were distributed, every one set to work to clear his portion, there being daily from fifteen to twenty people busily employed. Many

of the people came to gaze at us and our work, and others have followed our example."

A little later, Mr. Crowther, referring to the various efforts made by the missionaries (himself included) to encourage agriculture among the natives, says: "These things bring the people near the missionaries, and expand their minds, as they not only hear, but see and enjoy, the comfort of the arts of civilized nations."

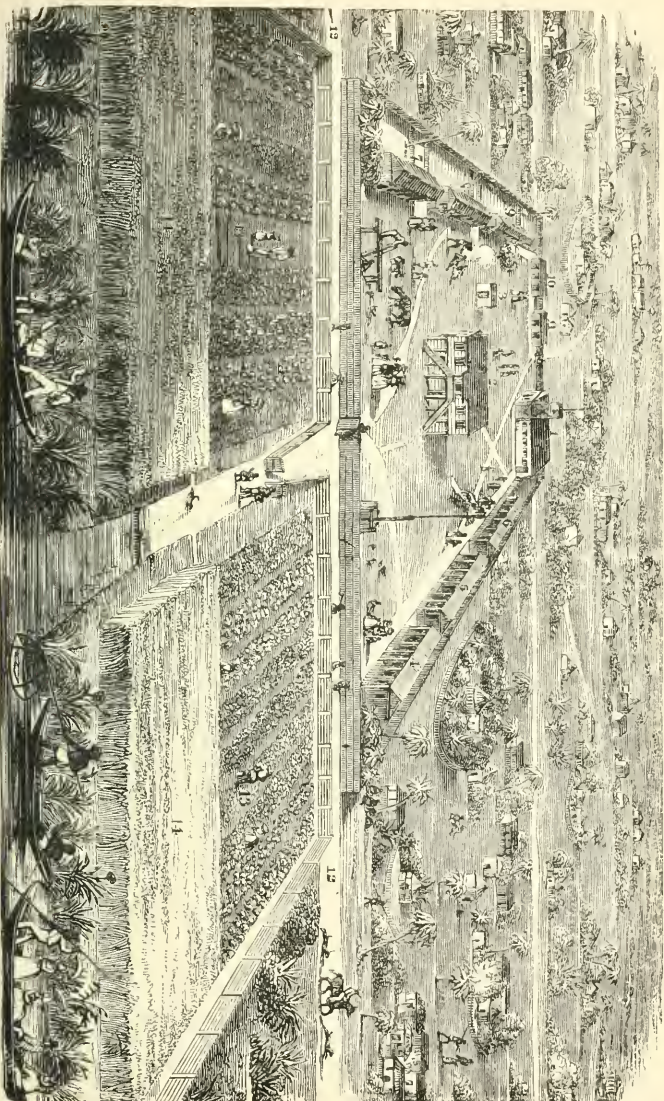
The following account of a visit paid by Messrs. Crowther and Gollmer to Idalle during the annual festival in honour of the god Idagbe is of great interest, and reminds one of similar ceremonies mentioned in the Old Testament:—

✕ "The public proclamation, universal preparation, general attendance, the slip of palm, the feigned humility of the chiefs, the holy water, the bringing of the blood into the most holy, the eating of the sacrifice, and even the dancing, are striking features in this festival.

"The importance attached to the festival may be seen from the fact that all the Badagry chiefs—with Akitoye, the deposed king of Lagos—were present, except two, and that these two sent their representatives."

April 10th, 1846: "Yesterday forenoon it was announced by the public crier that the annual grand festival in honour of the national god Idagbe, a snake,

* Explanation:—The numbers refer to the corresponding numbers on the picture. 1. The Church; 2. Mission House; 3. Kitchen; 4. Schoolmaster's Dwelling; 5. Boarding School; 6. Labourer's Dwelling; 7. Shed and Carpenters' Shop; 8. Interpreter's House; 9. Watchman's Dwelling; 10. Widows' Shelter; 11. Stable; 12. Street; 13. Vegetable Garden; 14. Rice Garden.



C.M.S. MISSION AT PADI VAGRY IN 1849.*

would take place to-day at Idalle. As I much wished to become acquainted with the idolatrous worship of the people, I went to Idalle with Mr. Crowther this morning.

"This serpent is a species of the boa-constrictor. It is so sacred that no one dare kill it, although it does serious mischief when it gets among the poultry or among the bullocks.

"On our way we overtook many poor pilgrims travelling towards Idagbe's holy shrine; they were all dressed in their best, and provided with something to eat, and with a small gift for Idagbe. On our approaching Idalle we met Okkan and Possu, with a numerous retinue, sitting in the shade of some trees, awaiting their fellow-chiefs and prepared for the procession. Having saluted them we went on our way to Idalle, where a great number of people had already assembled. The procession of the chiefs and people entered the town in a most imposing manner; some of the chiefs, who had managed to borrow a horse for the occasion, showed off on horseback, while those who were less fortunate did as well as they could on foot, all displaying their finery and apparently wishing to excel each other. Some were dressed in silk velvet, others in silk damask, etc., with a large bright-coloured state umbrella over their heads; while their devotedness to their famous god was manifested by a slip of the palm tree tied round their necks, to be afterward deposited in Idagbe's outer yard.

"The chiefs took their station in front of the fetish house, under shady trees. A large umbrella, stuck in

the ground, marked the station of a chief. The umbrella is a mark of dignity in this country, no inferior persons being allowed to use it. All sorts of drums and musical instruments were used on this occasion; the tomtom, the gongon, or country bells knocked with a stick, a calabash instrument netted over with fish bones, etc. As there was a large assemblage of people, of all ages and both sexes, they formed different classes of dancers: young women and girls forming circles after the Yoruba fashion, and performing them to the beat of the tomtom, the shaking of the calabash, the knocking of the gongon, and the jingling of the iron rods. The young men and boys were running about wild in different parties, like madmen, with their bill-hooks or sticks in their hands, as if pursuing an enemy, when on a sudden they moved backwards, as if repulsed by their foes.

“About an hour afterwards, the chiefs and a few of their people went into the inner yard to pay their homage to Idagbe, and, singular it is, the chiefs stripped themselves of all their finery and charms and dressed themselves in white cloths, as if they did not trust in anything beside Idagbe, but were humble and sincere adorers of him alone.

“It was some time before we could gain admission to this the most holy place, but at last it was granted, and we passed from the outer yard through a fetish house, which forms a gateway only, to the inner yard, where we saw a small bullock, the destined sacrifice to Idagbe. From this inner yard we had to press through a narrow entrance into another inner yard,

the sanctuary of Idagbe. This was about twelve feet square, fenced in on all sides, and containing a few small trees, which afforded us an agreeable shade from the excessive heat of the midday sun. Here we met all the Badagry chiefs humbly sitting on the ground before Idagbe's little hut, which was not above six feet long, four feet wide, and six feet high, but neatly covered all over with new mats.

"The high priest, a youth about eighteen years old, and two other priests, much older, yet of a lower order, were ministering. The young priest was for some time in the little hut, during which time he was heard uttering words, as if praying. The other two priests sat immediately before the entrance, which was so carefully closed by a clean white cloth that it was impossible for any one to see above a few inches of the inside. When the high priest came out from the little hut, he bore a pot with consecrated water, which one of the other priests squirted from his mouth upon the chiefs and people present, one after the other, to symbolize Idagbe blessing the people. This was not performed with much solemnity: all, however, seemed anxious to be squirted upon. After this, the rum and cola nuts, which the chiefs had brought as an offering, were brought from within the little hut, and of which, after having poured out a glass of rum on the ground to Idagbe, the chiefs and people partook.

"When this was over the chief priest, with a wooden fork in his hand, went, and after him another priest and Wawu, to the ante-yard, to consecrate the bullock. Three times they went and returned, every time mum-

bling something towards Idagbe's hut. On returning the last time he brought the tail of the bullock, which was laid on the roof of the hut. A few minutes afterwards the butcher brought some of the blood of the bullock, which was placed before the hut; while this was going on, some people prepared a large dish of



FIRES IN AFRICAN TOWNS (p. 31).

smoked fish, and another one of beans, which, after they had been presented to Idagbe for a few minutes, were in no time devoured by the hungry worshippers, chief and people helping themselves by handfuls. With this the ceremony in the most holy ended, of which we were heartily glad, as we had been standing there for nearly two hours."

A few days after this visit a terrible fire broke out in Badagry. Mr. Gollmer writes, April 18th: "Last night we were greatly alarmed by a dreadful fire; no less than thirty-six native houses were consumed in about an hour by the destructive element, and it must under God be ascribed to the assiduity of some of the people that not the greater part of the town, together with the European establishments, were destroyed. In the morning we went to inspect the place, and were not a little affected by the melancholy scene. The poor fetish and idols shared the same fate, for many were lying about half-burnt; nevertheless several were carefully collected and reinstated before the sand grew cold."

At the end of June 1846 Mr. Gollmer writes again: "We cannot yet speak of ripe fruit, but we have reason to believe that our work is not in vain in the Lord. This ground has been fallow for so long a time, and has consequently become so very hard, that the breaking up of it requires time and labour; the weeds have taken deep root, and to eradicate them wholly we need to dig deeply. We hope, by the blessing of God, at least to be preparing the way for brighter days, when more lights of the gospel will shine in this thick darkness, and more voices be raised to proclaim salvation through Jesus; when one will break up fallow ground, another sow the incorruptible seed, and a third water the plants."

CHAPTER IV.

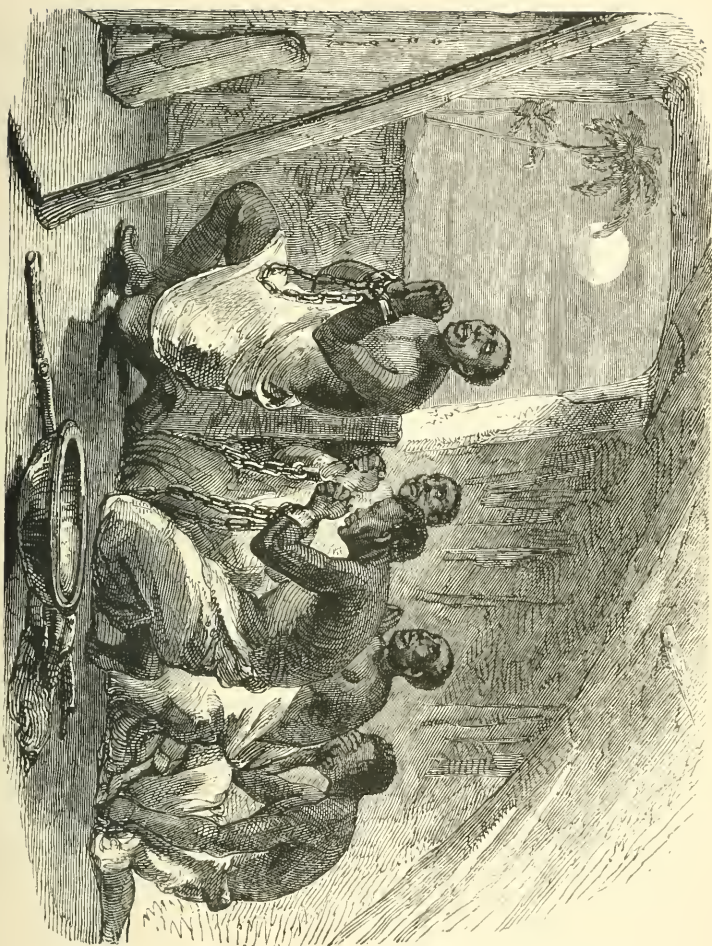
BRIGHTER DAYS.

IN July 1846 the way was at length opened for the missionaries to proceed to Abeokuta. The way in which this object was accomplished is worthy of remark.

A noted slave-factor at Porto Novo, finding that the disturbed state of the country, and the obstructed access into the interior, materially interfered with the nefarious traffic in which he was engaged, sent an embassy, with costly presents, to prevail upon the chiefs of the various towns so far to lay aside their mutual hostilities as to render the roads secure for passengers. This measure was successful ; and as it was considered important that the opportunity, so long desired, should not be lost, although it was in the midst of the rainy season, the Rev. H. Townsend and the Rev. S. Crowther, with their families, left Badagry on July 27th, and on August 3rd safely arrived at Abeokuta.

Finding it absolutely necessary that a communication should be maintained with the coast, it was determined that Mr. Gollmer should remain at Badagry, which town was regarded from that time as a regular branch of the mission.

One circumstance of peculiar interest must not be



omitted here. A few weeks after his arrival in Abeokuta, Mr. Crowther had the unexpected pleasure and great joy of meeting with his mother (August 21st, 1846), from whom he had been separated, owing to the slave-trade, for twenty-five years; and one of the first to be baptized in connection with the new mission was Mr. Crowther's mother, February 6th, 1848.

After the removal of Messrs. Townsend and Crowther to Abeokuta, the work at Badagry was carried on by Mr. Gollmer, assisted by Mr. Marsh and three other native teachers. In labouring among a mixed population like that of Badagry, considerable advantage was derived from the fact that the native teachers were of different tribes.

Mr. Gollmer writes, September 1846: "Mr. Marsh visits the Mohammedans; Mr. Philip the Sierra Leone and Egba people; Mark Willoughby, my interpreter, the Popos; George William the Yorubas; and I myself visit all, as far as my time and strength permit." And then he adds: "I cannot omit stating here that our native helpers are of great service to us, and a great blessing to the people." On December 15th Mr. Gollmer took advantage of the holding of a Committee of Missionaries at Abeokuta to visit Adu on his way thither. He arrived at Adu the same afternoon, the chief Ikoko receiving him as his guest. His servants, bearing his baggage, narrowly escaped being plundered by an armed party of Ottas, who were only quieted by the interference of the chief. During the night Ikoko's house was discovered to be on fire. This was thought to be the work of

the Ottas, either to revenge themselves for their disappointment in reference to Mr. Gollmer's baggage, or to create another opportunity for plunder, in which they were again disappointed.

On the 17th Mr. Gollmer proceeded on his way to Okeodan, and at Ishagbo, a village nine miles north of Adu, was met by an escort to conduct him forward. Within a short distance of the gate of Okeodan, however, the party was stopped by some Ottas, one of the tribes inhabiting Okeodan, on the plea that they had not been consulted in reference to Mr. Gollmer's visit. "After the dispute had lasted more than an hour, and it seemed likely every moment to come to shedding of blood, the people contending with their swords drawn, I tried" (he says) "a third time to return; but I and my people were so surrounded that it was utterly impossible to move either forward or backward. At this crisis Bangudu, a head warrior of Okeodan, sent some of his soldiers to fetch me into the town. These men, having forced their way through the multitude, came up to me with their drawn swords, shouting and commanding me to mount my horse and proceed. I first proposed to return, as I was afraid blood might be shed if I proceeded, for the people seemed quite infuriated; but the soldiers said 'No,' and made way with their swords, yet so as to hurt none, but holding the bridle of my horse, the one on this and the other on the other side. As soon as I had entered the gate, a fine broad street, lined on either side with thousands of people, opened to my view. The gazing of the people, but especially

the thought that they were all in darkness, much affected me. While I thus with fear and trembling entered the town, and meditated on the welfare of the people, a party of the discontented suddenly rushed upon my people, and knocked down their boxes and other things, which some carried off, while others attacked my servants themselves, and cut and tore away from them whatever they could lay hands on. One of my men was kidnapped and four wounded in the struggle, because they would not be robbed of all. I began to fear the worst, when I saw myself wholly forsaken, with the exception of the king's messenger and another lad, who begged me to hasten to the king's house; when I saw neither my interpreter, messenger, nor servant; when I, on looking behind, saw some of my things strewed about in the street, and my people in the hands of an enemy; and especially when one of my most confidential and faithful men came into the chief's house with his face covered with blood. The sight of these wounded ones touched my inmost soul, and I could not help shedding tears. My anxiety was, however, greatly alleviated when I saw one after the other of my people come in, though robbed of all, and observed that none of the wounds were fatal. The poor old chief, who sat all the time I dressed the wounds, and for nearly an hour afterward, not four yards from me, seemed as if petrified by what had taken place, so that he was unable to speak a single word."

December 18th: "A great many natives have been

to-day to sympathize with me and my people, and almost all have begged me not to be vexed, but to leave all the matter to God, Who will reward me. Late this evening my messenger returned from Igbeji and Idoggo, whither I sent him in the morning, to inform the chiefs of those places of what had taken place, and to consult them respecting my position—whether I should return to Badagry, or whether I could with safety come to see them. Both chiefs were extremely angry on account of what the Okeodan people had done to me, and sent a messenger to the chiefs, saying that they had better kill and eat me at once, for what they had done was worse than eating me ; with me they sympathized, and again invited me to come.”

Eventually some of Mr. Gollmer's property was returned, but the loss was still considerable. On the 22nd he proceeded on his journey, and was most kindly received both at Igbeji and Idoggo by the chiefs and people. In order to reach Abeokuta before the Lord's Day he pushed on, and arrived at his destination on the 26th.

After a pleasant sojourn of rather more than a fortnight, he left for Badagry on January 12th, 1847, and arrived there on the 15th. He was much encouraged by the missionary aspect of Abeokuta, but deeply felt that in so large a town it would be desirable to plant a much stronger aggressive force.

Perhaps the most encouraging portion of the work at Badagry was in connection with the boarding-school.

Besides Mewu's four boys, Chief Possu had sent his son, and Akibode, the chief priest of Ifa, also had two

there. All were tractable, well-behaved, and intelligent ; but owing to the jealousy and distrust with which the people viewed the white man's proceedings, Mr. Gollmer had at times great difficulties to overcome. He writes, however, at the end of June 1847: "I must not omit



CONSULTING IFA.

stating that the majority of our boys have made good progress, and give me satisfaction. We have now ten who read God's Word, and the others come forward by degrees. The first three monitors of our day school, sons of Sierra Leone people, have received special instruction from me for an hour every other day, with a

view to train them for the office of schoolmaster. I am happy to report that they make good progress, and will, I trust, soon become useful as assistants in the schools."

At the close of the year 1847 Mr. Gollmer writes : "As regards our Society's boarders, I have much pleasure in stating that this is the most promising branch of our labour, and to a considerable degree counterbalances the discouragements we meet with from the adults. By the blessing of God I have received so many children as to make up for the loss we sustained the quarter before last, and our number is again twenty-six. Ten other children are promised me, and I hope we shall soon get at least some of them. The conduct of the children has been on the whole very good, and I think I may say that we have succeeded to a degree in weaning them from the evil propensities they were indulged in at home ; having accustomed them to decency, honesty, and politeness, and impressed them with the truth of God's eternal Word. I must here give credit to Mr. Marsh's unwearied and unceasing exertions in bringing our children forward."

On June 18th the king of Porto Novo (Ajashe) sent a messenger to Mr. Gollmer, with an earnest request that he would send to England for a missionary for his town.

August 11th, Lord's Day: "This morning, about eleven o'clock, while we were all assembled for Divine worship, fire broke out at the northern end of the east range of the Society's native dwellings, and in a short time consumed the whole range, one hundred and twenty feet

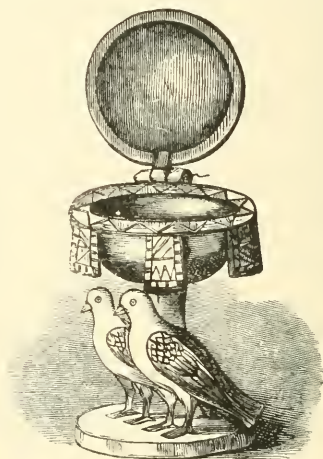
long, leaving Mr. Marsh, the boarders, and the watchmen without a shelter. No sooner was it known that fire had broken out in the white man's house than a host of people rushed into our premises, not to assist, but to plunder us. We all did our utmost to keep them from stealing, but as we were comparatively few, they managed to make away with several things." Within a month after the fire Mr. Gollmer had contrived by great exertions to render the new buildings habitable.

On January 28th, 1848, the long-expected accession of European labourers was welcomed, upon the arrival of the Revs. Messrs. J. Smith and J. C. Müller, with their wives. But, sad to relate, in the course of three weeks Mrs. Müller was attacked by the fever of the country, under which she sank on February 26th.

It was determined, in a Committee of Missionaries held at Badagry, that Mr. Gollmer should return to England for the benefit of his health, he having resided six years in Africa; that Mr. Townsend should also return, in consequence of the severe and alarming illness of his wife; that Mr. Smith should supply the place of Mr. Gollmer at Badagry; and that Mr. Müller should go to Abeokuta. On April 19th, therefore, the Rev. H. and Mrs. Townsend and Mr. Gollmer left Badagry, and arrived in London on June 26th.

Miss Tucker, in her book "Abeokuta," when writing of Mr. Gollmer's departure from Badagry, says: "Mr. and Mrs. Smith landed at Badagry in January 1848, and Mr. Gollmer, whose health had for some time required a change of climate, took advantage of their arrival to pay a visit to England. Neither the chiefs

nor people were of course able to appreciate the value of his indefatigable spiritual labours among them, but their conduct at his departure, and on his return, showed in a very gratifying manner the estimation in which he was personally held. On the morning of his embarkation, in April 1848, several chiefs came to pay him a visit, and to wish him a safe voyage, bringing a sheep,

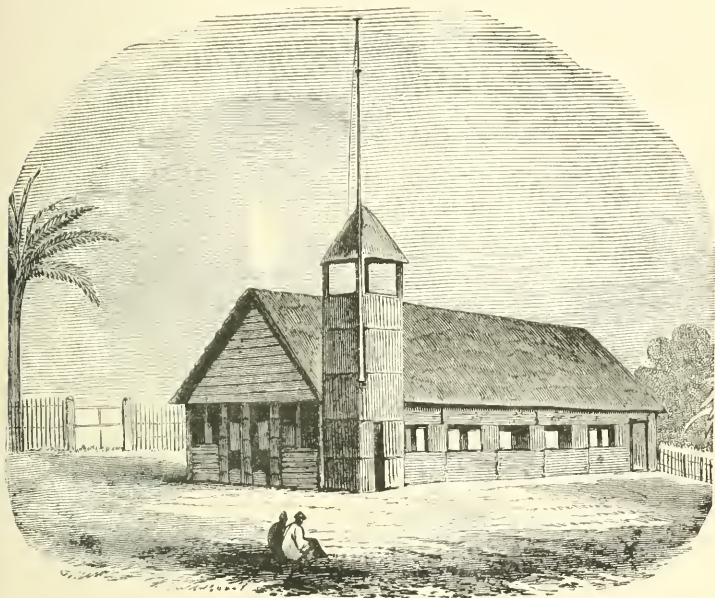


WOODEN CUP TO CONTAIN IFA.

or fowls, or yams, as presents, and among others was his former opponent, Possu.

“Mewu brought him a bullock and a bag of yams, ‘to make,’ as he said, ‘soup on the salt water, that he might not forget him.’ Akitoye sent his messenger with his gilt-headed staff of office to bid him farewell; and the still more friendly chief of Ajido had, three days before, sent a confidential agent with a silver-

headed staff, and with orders not to return till he had seen Mr. Gollmer and Mr. and Mrs. Townsend (who were going with him to England) safe on board. The man, on his arrival, delivered up his badge of office to



CHURCH AT BADAGRY.

Mr. Gollmer, and only resumed it in order to attend him to the beach in proper form."

And Mr. Smith in his account adds: "It was very gratifying to observe the chief priest of Ifa, with nearly his whole family, crossing the river in their canoes with many others, and going to the beach to see the last of our friends."

CHAPTER V.

MORE TROUBLES.

ON September 20th, 1849, Mr. Gollmer married Sarah Caroline Hoar, the daughter of Major Hoar of the 10th Regiment of Foot. She was spared to be a true and devoted helper to him for thirty-four years, eleven years of this period being spent in active service in the mission-field.

January 9th, 1850, the Rev. H. and Mrs. Townsend, the Rev. C. A. and Mrs. Gollmer, accompanied by Mr. E. Van Cooten, Surgeon, Mrs. Van Cooten, and Mr. and Mrs. Huber, sailed from Plymouth for Badagry, and safely arrived on March 7th.

Miss Tucker, referring to their arrival, says: "The greeting was as warm when Mr. Gollmer returned in March 1850 as when he left. The people crowded down to the beach to welcome him; some of them insisted on lifting him out of the canoe; and on the heads of some and on the hands of others he was carried a good way up the beach."

But the mission party, under God's mysterious providence, had very soon to pass through heavy trials. The same letter which acquainted the Society with the safe arrival of the missionaries conveyed also the sorrow-

ful intelligence of Mrs. Van Cooten's death, on May 17th, after eight days' fever. This was followed by the demise of the Rev. J. C. Müller, who died of dysentery at Abeokuta, on June 16th, 1850; and lastly Mr. Van Cooten, in the midst of much usefulness, was attacked with fever, while engaged in visiting the towns on the strip of land between the Ossa and the sea toward Porto Novo; and having been conveyed to Badagry in a canoe, expired there March 13th, 1851.

Mrs. Gollmer also suffered most severely in various ways; so much so that Mr. Gollmer writes, June 25th, 1850: "Many times during the last five weeks I have wept over her as over one who is fast drawing nigh her departure, and again and again the Lord was a present help in time of need; but a week ago we all had given up our hopes for her recovery; indeed, we expected her dissolution hourly; yet the Lord heard our cries, which we all conjointly made before Him, and raised her up.

"It would be ungrateful in me not to mention the great kindness and attention Mr. Van Cooten has shown to us, and especially to Mrs. Gollmer during her serious and protracted illness. I confess I know not what I should have done under existing circumstances without his aid. He has, by the blessing of God on the means used, humanly speaking, saved her life, for which we feel thankful to God and to him."

A few days after the arrival of the missionary party, a reinforcement of native catechists and teachers, consisting of Messrs. Thomas King, James Barber, James White, and Thomas Puddicombe, reached Badagry from Sierra Leone, for the service of the Yoruba mission.

Mr. Mark Willoughby, one of the most useful of the native agents, after a lengthened illness, died at Badagry May 9th, 1850.

On the death of Mr. Müller, Mr. Smith was transferred to Abeokuta to supply his place.

August 26th : "Our friends Mr. and Mrs. Smith left us this morning for Abeokuta, and now I am again left alone in the responsibility of this station. The thousands of souls are a heavy weight on my spirits ; thankful, however, I am that Mr. Van Cooten remains and helps me."

The work at Badagry at this time was anything but encouraging ; the chiefs and people remained adverse to the reception of the gospel ; the general demeanour of the inhabitants was such as to render it doubtful whether they would not prefer the abandonment to the continuance of the mission.

Besides the trials arising to the missionaries from the disinclination of the people to spiritual instruction, there were disturbances and commotions in Badagry, which, on more than one occasion, threatened to terminate in sanguinary conflicts. The first occurrence of this kind was in October 1850, when the Sierra Leone people took up arms to defend themselves against the continued injuries inflicted on them by the Popos, and a collision seemed inevitable.

At this crisis Mr. Gollmer received a kind letter from Commander Patey, of H.M.S. *Flying Fish*, offering any assistance in his power. At Mr. Gollmer's request two of the officers came on shore, a full meeting of the chiefs and people was convened, and this disturbance

amicably adjusted. It was, however, soon followed by one of a more serious nature. Communication between Badagry and Lagos had been closed for some years, and a law had been passed prohibiting individuals from going from the former to the latter place.

The Popo chiefs wished now to re-open the road, while Akitoye, the ex-king of Lagos, who resided at Badagry, feeling that his personal safety would be endangered if this were done, endeavoured to prevent it. Amidst the violent passions of these contending parties, the town was on several occasions in danger of being set on fire and destroyed. The King of Dahomey's intended invasion appeared likewise as a dark cloud rising in the far horizon.

Amidst these disquieting circumstances, the missionaries very gratefully acknowledged the kind sympathy shown them by the Commodore and other officers of Her Majesty's squadron on the coast, the lively interest expressed for their safety, and the offer of prompt assistance whenever the aspect of affairs appeared to be more threatening.

With regard to the continued trials at Badagry, Miss Tucker writes: "Twice in the autumn of 1850 the significant token of a faggot, bound up in a particular way, was sent to Mr. Gollmer, to warn him that his house was to be set on fire; and during the latter part of 1850 and the beginning of 1851, he and Mrs. Gollmer were subject to continued alarms of war and conflagration."

The position of Mr. Gollmer during the early part of 1851 was at all times critical, and often perilous in

the extreme ; yet he was enabled, with much Christian courage and resolution, to continue at his post, even when the battle was raging round him, and discharge various offices of kindness to the wounded.

Miss Tucker continues : " At last, in June 1851, the long-smothered enmity between Akitoye and Mewu on the one side, and Kosoko and his allies on the other, burst forth afresh, and Mr. Gollmer's attempts at mediation proved unavailing.

The town was attacked, and the scenes that followed cannot be described. The firing of the opposing parties close to the mission-house, the town itself in flames, the screams of the women and children, who ran about in all directions, and several hundreds of whom took refuge in the mission compound, were enough to appal the stoutest hearts. Some of the poor people crowded into their canoes and tried to cross the Ossa to the opposite shore, but many of the overladen boats were upset. In the afternoon a quantity of gunpowder exploded with a terrific noise, and had not the mission-house been strengthened with new timber during the preceding week, it must have been shaken to the ground. Before night the greatest part of the town was burnt to the ground. In the morning the fight was renewed, the eastern part of the town was set fire to, and nothing escaped the devouring element but the two mission premises and the chief part of Mr. Hutton's factory. All this time Mr. Gollmer was ill, and unable to walk, or even to stand, and could only give instructions from the window. The catechists and others connected with the mission were greatly frightened,

AFRICAN WAR CAMP.



and urged him to retire to the beach for safety ; but he felt, as he says, that, "I was at the post where God had placed me, and I must not desert it without plain and special orders. He knows I am here, and I know and believe His arm is not shortened ; so in faith I committed myself to our covenant God, and resolved to await the result of this sore trial, and Mrs. Gollmer being of one mind with me greatly strengthened my faith."

Mr. Gollmer continues : "The greater part of this day (June 13th) was occupied in attending to the wounded. Last evening one of the Popo party had his left hand torn off by the bursting of his own gun, and we had to cut it off, sew the skin together, and dress it. This morning one of Akitoye's people had his left hand torn off in the same way, and we had to cut it off and dress it as the one yesterday. The poor man wept when we told him that he must either die or suffer his hand to be cut off. 'What shall I do,' he said, 'with one hand' (he is a blacksmith); 'how can I get something to eat?' It was truly heartrending. However, he most patiently suffered me to cut off his hand by the wrist ; many other wounded were brought, and we sewed up many wounds. Blessed be God for His faithfulness in giving me, in this time of need, grace sufficient for the day."

Kosoko continued his direct and indirect attacks on Badagry from time to time, through the intervening months, until December 1st, when it was resolved that a final effort should be made. The particulars connected with this attempt are detailed by Mr. Gollmer in his journal of that date :—

“After many unsuccessful attacks upon this town, by Kosoko’s party from the east and Possu’s from the west, our enemies retreated for a while, and prepared for a renewed and combined attack, which they made sure would bring about the desired end—the utter destruction of all living here; the Jebus, Igbessas, and others promising to assist Kosoko, and the Isos and others Possu. This attack was to be made about the middle of November; when, providentially, the consul arrived off Lagos and announced to Kosoko his intention to pay him a friendly visit on his return from Badagry in a day or two, which so alarmed him, as he feared an attack from the English on account of Akitoye, that he at once recalled all his people and allies whom he had sent to destroy Badagry, saying, ‘Come back quickly, for what I see at home passes what I sent you out for.’ And thus God wonderfully dispersed our enemies and delivered us from their destroying hand. Possu, with his west division, appeared at the appointed time, and encamped on the south and north banks of the river, almost within gunshot of Badagry, and according to agreement made an attack on the town the following morning, but was sadly disappointed when neither Kosoko’s canoes nor any of his allies made their appearance on the east; and he had to retreat to his encampment without having effected anything.

“Three weeks afterwards Possu renewed the attack, and much bloodshed ensued; until, finding no prospect of being assisted from Lagos, he retired to Adu, about three miles distant. Kosoko was occupied in prepara-

tions for self-defence. The retribution he had been long earning was about to come on him.

"On December 4th he fired on the British flag of truce, and thus brought himself into collision with the British power. An opportunity was now afforded for the restoration of Akitoye, the lawful king, and Kosoko was driven from his usurped throne.

"In the treaty which was entered into with Akitoye provision was made for the friendly reception of Christian missionaries at Lagos, and full liberty promised for the prosecution of their important labours."

With reference to the above circumstances, the Rev. H. Venn wrote to Mr. Gollmer, under date October 14th, 1851 :—

"Your letter has indeed filled us with many opposite feelings,—deep sympathy for the trials and perils to which you have been exposed ; apprehensions for the future ; praise and thanksgiving to God for the merciful protection and the wonderful support to your mind given in the hour of extreme danger. The first overpowering emotions were those of painful condolence with you in the agony of mind which you must have endured and the suspense and anxiety which must have succeeded. But though we tremble, we rejoice ; that you should have remained under your circumstances at your post, without even going to the beach for protection, was a triumph of grace. We think that you acted in this respect very wisely."

A few months later (February 24th, 1852) Mr. Venn wrote ;—

"The simple reference you made to the possibility of

your removal to Lagos spoke volumes. With respect to the future movements of our missionaries, we thank God that we have in you a degree of wisdom, experience, and decision in which we can fully rely. Before this reaches you it will have been considered whether you should not at once remove to Lagos, and keep up Badagry only as an out-station. The communication between Lagos and Abeokuta is most important."

CHAPTER VI.

OCCUPATION OF LAGOS.

MR. GOLLMER, having decided on transferring himself, as quickly as possible, to this important post, deputed, in the first instance, Mr. James White, a native catechist, to proceed to Lagos, for the purpose of making himself acquainted with the existing state of things, and having an interview with the restored king.

He arrived at Lagos January 10th, 1852. The next day being the Lord's Day, in the morning he preached in the king's quarters, to a congregation of two hundred people, from 1 Kings iii. 5-14; and in the afternoon one hundred and ninety-two people were gathered together to hear him speak on 1 Kings xviii. 21. These were the two first gospel addresses ever delivered in Lagos.

During the first six months of 1852 Mr. Gollmer continued to reside at Badagry, with occasional visits to Lagos; the first of these visits was paid in February.

He writes, March 12th, 1852: "I went to Lagos February 23rd, and returned March 2nd. It is full forty miles from Badagry. Akitoye, the chiefs and elders, and people received me in the most friendly

manner, and earnestly requested that I would come soon and build a house and dwell with them.

"On the Lord's Day I preached twice in Yoruba, the king, several chiefs, and elders and some of the people, being present. All were attentive, and seemed to understand me. On Monday I obtained the consent of the king, chiefs, and elders to the apportionment of five pieces of land for the purposes of the mission, and had the document signed. May the Lord send forth labourers, for the harvest is great."

Mr. White was placed in permanent residence at Lagos in the middle of February; Mr. Gollmer remaining at Badagry until July 20th, when he also reached Lagos. Badagry was kept in continued alarm by rumours of an attack from the Dahomians, and the people continued to manifest the same indisposition to spiritual instruction as heretofore.

Mr. Gollmer, under date June 22nd, 1852, thus notices the conclusion of his labours at Badagry:—

"We have now arrived at an important era, viz., the close, or nearly so, of our mission at Badagry, and the forming of our chief coast station at Lagos. As this will be my last journal from this place I must take a retrospective view. In January 1845 we arrived here from Sierra Leone destined for Abeokuta; but God closed up our path into the interior by the unexpected and sudden death of Shodeke, the king and war chief, so that we had no alternative but patiently to wait here. Mr. Townsend, Mr. Crowther, and myself lost no time in commencing our work. Mr. Crowther kept regular service under a tree in town, while Mr.

JAMES WHITE PREACHING BEFORE KING AKTOYE.



Townsend and I alternately kept service, either at home, or at one of the chief's houses, or elsewhere; besides visiting both chiefs and people, when we always endeavoured to make known to them God in His Word, and to lead them into the path of truth and life. For eighteen months we thus continued our work here and in the neighbourhood, when a slave-trader forced the Abeokuta road open, that slaves might be brought down to him. Of this our friends Messrs. Townsend and Crowther availed themselves to proceed to Abeokuta, whilst I was appointed by the parent committee to remain behind at Badagry, as we found, by experience, that a mission in the interior demanded a station on the coast.

"For another two years I carried on my work here alone, and apparently not altogether in vain, since the chiefs and people gave up some of their children for education; and in 1848, when, after upwards of six years' residence in Africa, my health rendered it necessary to return to Europe for a season, I left a promising boarding-school of thirty boys and one girl. The Rev. J. Smith carried on the work of God during my absence of nearly two years, with neither increase nor decrease as to numbers; and on my return I found things much the same as I left them.

"Since that time, for twelve months, the late Mr. Van Cooten and myself carried on our work of faith and love; and when I lost his valuable aid I prosecuted my labours alone, and I trust I have done so faithfully, though in much weakness.

"Well may we now ask, What is the fruit of your

seven years' labour at this place? Alas! I see but little—I had almost said, 'I have laboured in vain, and spent my strength for nought'; for, after seven years' labour, there is not one from among the Popos whom I can consider converted to God. They are as averse, a few excepted, to God and His Word as in former years. Even the judgment of God—the war last year—made but little impression upon them. They will listen for a time when we go to their houses or meet them in the streets; but ever foremost is, 'I am hungry.' 'What shall I eat and drink, and wherewith cover myself?' As for coming to our church to hear God's Word, or to our Sunday School to learn to read, they will not. Why? They prefer darkness to light, because their works are evil. Remarkable it is, that even the Mohammedans have not made one proselyte during the long time they have been here, although the Popos could of course embrace Mohammedanism with less self-denial than the Christian religion. But no! they are wedded to their idolatrous and superstitious systems, and will not depart from the ways of their ancestors. Not one Mohammedan, not one real Christian! A few were baptized, not by us. The promising boarding-school, like a beautiful flower scorched by a midday sun, withered away, because no immediate temporal advantages accrued to the parents from their children's attainments—in plain words, because we only fed, clothed, and taught them free of expense, and did not pay them a good salary besides, they took them away, and sent them to the bush to cut sticks; so that, of the thirty boys, there remain but half-a-dozen

with us. But although we see no fruit from among the Popos, I do believe that our labour has not been 'in vain in the Lord.'

"Many people from Abeokuta, coming down to trade, have heard God's Word here; and may we not hope that a grain has fallen in good ground, and brought forth fruit? Moreover, some of the strangers, Yorubas and others, residing here, have heard God's Word. Some are convinced of the truth; some waver; some strive with the devil, the world, and the flesh, to come out; others have gained the victory and live by faith. Fourteen adults—Yorubas and Egbas—and thirty-six children have been baptized, and one marriage and eighteen funerals have taken place. The monuments of our mission here are the four missionary graves, which remain as witnesses of devotedness to our work among the people of Badagry.

"In consequence of the war at this place last year, the still unsettled state of things, and the opening at Lagos, Badagry dwindled down to a small and unimportant place. Many people are removing to Lagos, so that fewer still attend our services, and no more than a dozen children remain in our school. By these events we consider that God has clearly marked out our path to depart from those who so long have despised Him and His Word, and to carry it to those who have hitherto sat in darkness and the shadow of death. May God open their hearts to receive the blessed gospel and Christ, without Whom there is no salvation."

Badagry continued to the end of the year (1852) to

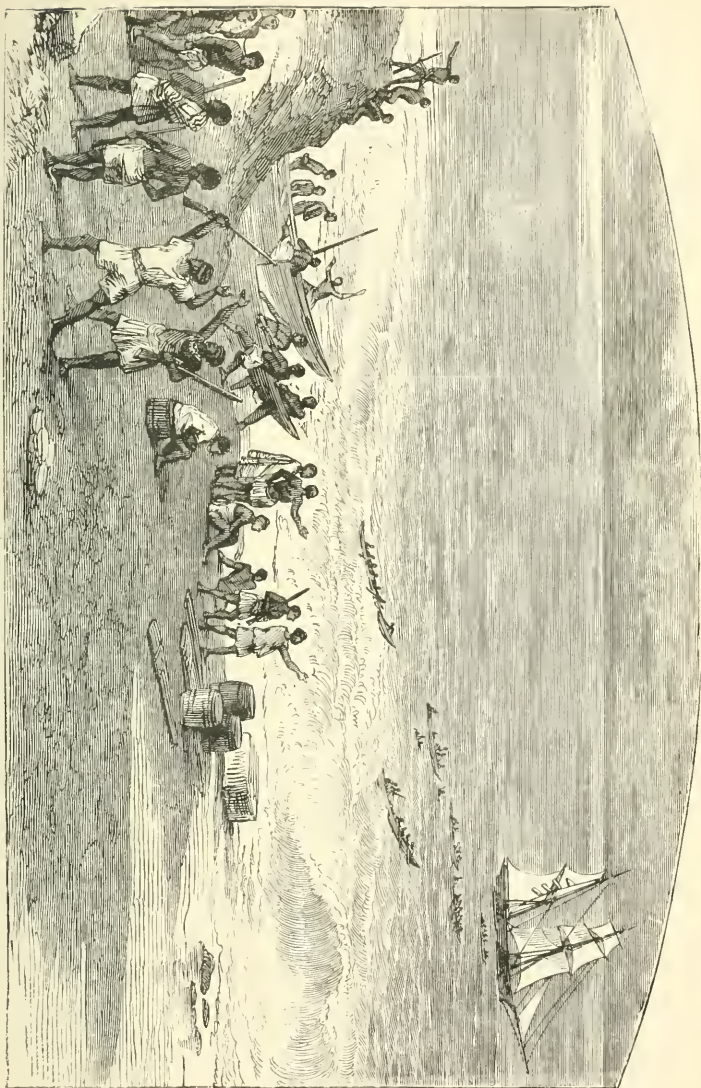
be distracted by rumours of war, and apprehended dangers from different directions ; and the minds of the chiefs and people were in a state altogether unfavourable to the reception of serious impressions ; still the native labourers persevered zealously, and not without some encouragement.

Lagos at this time became an important missionary station—the landing-place of the missionaries and the door of access into the interior, it had been hitherto a great centre of evil, the head-quarters of the slave-trade in the Bight of Benin, from whence suffering had been dealt forth with an unsparing hand on the surrounding nations. Expelled from Lagos, that inhuman traffic, under which Africa had so long and grievously suffered, became extinct along the coast.

The beneficial results to Africa from the occupation of Lagos are thus referred to in the journals of the native missionaries.

Mr. (now Rev.) James White writes : “ The taking of Lagos by the resistless arms of England is a circumstance which should inspire every true Christian, and particularly every friend of Africa, with heartfelt gratitude to God. We deeply regret the loss of so many British in the late war. Had we been able to do anything, even to the laying down of our lives to save theirs, we should have done it with pleasure. By the taking of Lagos, England has performed an act which the grateful children of Africa shall long remember. Let not England so much grieve for the loss of her sons, as consider the benefits that must accrue from the result. A few gallant men have sacrificed their

SHIPPING SLAVES, LAGOS, 1851.



lives to save those of a whole population. Fortified by nature, and commodiously situated for commerce, Lagos was proud of this superiority above the rest of her countrymen, and mightily oppressed them. Not satisfied with desolating other places, she set out with an expedition to bring even Badagry in iron fetters to Lagos. But God's justice overtook her. Her forces were recalled to cope with one more powerful. Just at that moment, one of H.M.'s ships of war arrived to engage the attention of haughty Kosoko, and thus freed Badagry from his intended invasion. Let not the delicate feelings of pious men induce them to look with horror on the dark side of the picture, if they are the true friends of Africa. Lagos is taken. One of the principal roots of the slave-trade is torn out of the soil. The chains of the wretched prisoners are broken; and we anticipate that the place, once filled with groans and murmurs, shall in future years echo the praises of the Redeemer. Afric's sons are not only morally declared free by England's banners, but this circumstance is subservient to the spiritual restoration of that untutored race to liberty by the heralds of the Messiah, when that great event shall succeed."

The Rev. S. Crowther, writing on the same subject, says: "I can assure you from personal knowledge, and from the expressed admission of many chiefs in this part of the country, that the abolition of the slave-trade at Lagos was the greatest deliverance that ever was wrought on behalf of this country. How many ejaculatory prayers have been and are offered from

thousands of hearts to God to bless the English nation, their friend, and the deliverer of their country from utter destruction through slave wars !”

With reference to Mr. Gollmer’s removal to Lagos, the secretaries wrote, April 13th, 1852 : “ Your letters have given us much cause of gratitude to God, that you should have had your path so clearly marked out for transferring the headquarters of your mission to Lagos, and that your health was so far re-established that you were about to adopt all the necessary means for removing without delay. Mr. Venn’s letter, which we trust you have received, will have confirmed you in the correctness of your judgment, and the Committee quite approve of your taking down one of the houses at Badagry to be put up at Lagos. The Committee will be quite prepared to meet the expenses incurred by making Lagos a mission-station ; and they will take immediate measures to strengthen you there, in the hope that your earnest desire to proceed into the interior with the glad tidings of salvation may be speedily accomplished.”

On June 14th the ship conveying Mr. Crowther and several native catechists from Sierra Leone arrived at Lagos. Mr. White thus notices this joyful event : June 14th : “ This morning we went with Mr. Gollmer to the beach, to welcome our dear friends who have just arrived from Sierra Leone, after a voyage of six weeks. This was a season of truly missionary joy to us, a season to give thanks to God for His answers to the prayers of His servants. We need this supply more especially, as the Lord is everywhere opening a

way for the spread of His gospel. Under the present crisis, triple the number of labourers sent would find a ready field of labour. We feel cheered, and we are enabled to go on in our work rejoicing."

CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESS.

A FEW extracts from Mr. Gollmer's journals give a glimpse of the work at Lagos during the latter part of 1852.

“August 8th, Lord's Day: I had a large and attentive congregation under a shady tree, and visited one of our sick communicants in the afternoon. I made arrangements with my native helpers to go out into the streets and lanes, to urge the people to come in, that the Lord's house may be filled. Mr. White keeps his two services, as usual, in our temporary schoolroom at the east end of Lagos ; Mr. Young goes out into the streets, etc., at the east end of the town ; whilst Coker, Pearse, and I preach the Word of God at different places at the west end of Lagos ; so that, as often as possible, the glad tidings are made known in five different parts of the town, and to a goodly number of people. Coker and Pearse also keep the afternoon service alternately under my tree, which is almost better attended than the morning service.

“August 21st : All the week busily employed with the mission-house, and have a great many spectators, to whom I frequently address a few words of eternal



SLAVE CONFINED IN A BARRACOOK.

interest. All is new, all strange, the building of this wonderful house, as well as the wonderful Word."

September 11th, Mr. White writes: "The last few

days the people have been much engaged in singing, dancing, and sacrificing to the memory of a chief, who, they say, died seven months ago. As it is customary, at the funerals of such great men, to offer in sacrifice some of the most beloved wives, and a great many slaves, to serve the deceased in the regions of the dead, everybody suspected that a great number of men would be killed; but Mr. Gollmer quickly interposed, by sending a warm message to the king, reminding him of that part of the treaty which forbids human sacrifice, a violation of which would bring on him the severity of the English. Thus another great evil is remedied by the taking of Lagos."

Since their arrival in Lagos Mr. and Mrs. Gollmer had been living in an old dismal slave barracoon: it was here that, in God's infinite mercy, Mrs. Gollmer was safely delivered of her first child, a daughter.

October 17th, Mr. Gollmer continues: "Lord's Day. I kept the service in the street, and had a small but attentive congregation. Samuel Pearse re-preached my sermon in the afternoon, when many people were present. I have adopted the plan of making my two assistant-schoolmasters, Pearse and Coker, re-preach my sermon of the morning alternately, with a view to make the people understand well the 'Word' we preach; and I find it is a good plan, for if I cannot sufficiently express or explain myself in Yoruba, they can do it.

"October 23rd: Our new mission-house* being so far completed as to be partly habitable, we to-day moved from our dark and dismal barracoon, after a three

* See p. 144.

months' imprisonment, into our light, airy, and comfortable new house—a change for which we are truly thankful; the day before yesterday it was three months since we commenced the work. The house is almost a wonder to me, for in everything I experienced God's blessing most signally. Wisdom, health, and strength were given me and my people, and materials and labour were blessed alike. The house is a mission Ebenezer. May it be a beacon for the misguided, a light for the benighted, life for the dead, and a house of prayer and praise !*

“December 25th, Christmas Day: I kept service under the tree, and made Christ's coming into the world known to my hearers.

“I would here acknowledge the goodness and mercy of God, so richly bestowed upon us during the year now closing. Twelve months ago we were surrounded by war and rumours of war, and the horizon threatened a fearful storm. It soon burst forth, drove the deadly exhalations beyond, and left the cool refreshing air behind for us. The destruction of Lagos dispelled all the dangers and anxieties of war, and brought us tranquillity and peace. What a change for Lagos! Twelve months ago it was in full possession of the prince of darkness. Now his stronghold is broken open, his bulwarks are overthrown, and his banner must give place to the standard of the gospel of Christ Jesus. Twelve months ago thousands of poor people were under an iron sceptre, degraded below the brute creation. Now an air of comparative liberty pervades

* It is still used as the C. M. S. Mission-house.

the place, and cruel oppression is reprobated, changing the expression of despair into a happy smile. Twelve months ago the king, chiefs, and people invoked their gods, and called the neighbouring gods even, to their assistance, and bloody sacrifices abounded. (Now many people assemble to hear God's Word, sacrifices are discontinued, idols thrown away, and the true God believed and worshipped, at least by some.) What a change ! what has God not wrought ! what an earnest for Africa's speedy salvation ! God hasten the time !"

The difficulties to be overcome by the missionaries during the commencement of the work at Lagos are thus described by Dr. Irving, R.N., who accompanied Commander Foote on a visit to Abeokuta, and landed at Lagos December 1852.

"We arrived at the neat and commodious, and I may add most hospitable, house of the Rev. C. A. Gollmer. This gentleman has been here but a few months, and therefore any very great advances in the work of conversion cannot be expected. He has great difficulties to contend with. The hateful slave-trade, of which this has been so long the chief mart, has thoroughly ingrained itself in the thoughts, habits, and hearts of the people. Long under the influence of the slave-dealer, and taught to consider the English as a sort of natural enemy, they still smart under their recent defeat, and the deprivation of a trade so lucrative, and so congenial to their disposition, as the capture and selling of their fellow-men. Nor has commerce, as yet, adequately supplied its place. It will be some time before they will regard our overtures as those of friends and benefactors. As long as

the slave party can carry on their vile occupation, in however feeble a manner—if only one vessel escape, to encourage their hopes of a renewal of the old state of things—the good results produced will be very partial.

“They believe that the present is a lull merely; and that when our squadron is diminished or withdrawn—as interested parties persuade them it will be before long—the former state of things will be renewed. Until convinced of the futility of such hopes, progress must be extremely slow.

“Mr. Gollmer, at whose house we slept, busied himself kindly and zealously in procuring us bearers, horses, etc.; and next morning, our party having been mustered, we bade good-bye to our host.”

On December 14th, 1852, the Rev. A. Mann safely arrived at Lagos; and the Rev. Messrs. Hinderer and Paley, with their wives, and Mr. Hensmann arrived on January 6th, 1853, on their way to Abeokuta.

During many months of the year 1853, the political atmosphere at Lagos was much disturbed and agitated; sanguinary collisions between rival factions of the natives took place in its streets, and on one occasion the destruction of the town was only averted, under God, by the prompt interposition of the British Admiral. Such a state of things was far from favourable to missionary operations; the European and native labourers were in the midst of great danger, the missionary premises of Mr. Gollmer having been, on one occasion, in the centre of the battle; and Mr. White's dwelling, with those of many of the natives, having been set on

fire by Kosoko's people, and burned to the ground. Every effort was made by the British officers in command off the port to allay irritation and reconcile the contending parties; and when the proper moment arrived an energetic interference by the boats of the squadron saved life and property from a threatened destruction, and compelled the enemy to a precipitate flight. From the Admiral and other officers of the squadron the missionaries received the most unrelenting kindness and solicitude.

Still, amidst these unfavourable circumstances, missionary work was continued: the good seed was sown as opportunity offered, and instances were not wanting of individuals casting away their idols and seeking Christian instruction.

January 26th, 1853, Mr. Gollmer writes: "Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer, Mr. Hensmann, Mrs. Gollmer, and myself, with our child, proceeded to Abeokuta by water, and were gladly received by our friends Mr. and Mrs. Townsend, January 29th.

"January 30th, Lord's Day: In accordance with Mr. Townsend's request, I kept the morning service at Ake Church; words cannot express what I felt on the occasion. Six years ago I was here, and addressed a comparatively small company under a piazza: now I meet a large church full of people, mostly Christians, who most cordially joined in the responses, and attentively listened to the Word of God. The sight reminded me of my former large congregation of Regent, Sierra Leone. Surely the Lord hath done great things, whereof we are glad."

Mr. and Mrs. Gollmer returned to Lagos February 25th. The Rev. G. F. E. Gerst arrived March 28th to assist Mr. Gollmer.

April 11th Mr. Gollmer continues : " King Akitoye came to consult me about the war rumours and many other things which pressed upon his mind.

" April 16th : The king called a general assembly about the rumour of war, which lasted five hours, thirty-five individuals speaking during the time. Akitoye begged me to be present, but it being a meeting of a political nature I declined.

" May 20th : A day of great anxiety. Whilst we were at Otta, Mrs. Gollmer tells me, and during the last few days, the rumour of war seemed to take a tangible shape ; the parties came out openly, and war seemed inevitable. As early as five o'clock this morning, whilst thunder fearfully rolled to and fro, lightning almost changed night into day, and rain poured down in torrents, from four hundred to five hundred people, mostly women and children, with loads and animals, fled to our premises for safety, as the fight was to commence this morning. How we felt can be better imagined than described. However, after the first shock of alarm was past, we committed ourselves, with our house and the many people, in prayer to our faithful covenant God, the sure Rock, where our anchor was safely cast in tempests past, and behold, He heard and helped. The arrival of the mail steamer *Hope* during the night—which, being a stranger, anchored right off the bar, so that every one in town could see her plainly, and which was thought to be a man-of-war,

ready to come up the river with those dreaded rockets, as soon as they commenced fighting in town—and the unusually heavy tornado, proved, in the hand of God, the means of preventing the awful calamity on that day.

“May 21st: Last night, about ten o'clock, when we were about to retire, the people, who for the greater part returned home during the day, again fled into our premises, with many more. They kept on coming all night, and there must have been some seven hundred people within our walls. It was positively expected the war would take place in the morning. However, the two rebellious chiefs, Ajinia and Pellu, discovered Akitoye was better prepared than they supposed, having sent for warriors to the Egba camp near Adu, and who arrived during the night. No sooner was the discovery made than both the rebellious chiefs sent messengers to me to beg the king for them. The note ‘Fight, fight,’ was suddenly changed into ‘Beg, beg.’”

CHAPTER VIII.

IN PERILS OFT.

THE following extracts give an account of the determined effort to destroy Akitoye, the consul, and the missionaries, and to bring back Kosoko and the slave-trade; and but for the intervention, under God, of the new Vice-consul, and of Commodore B——, the issue would have been most disastrous.

“August 5th: A day of great anxiety and danger. The long-dreaded civil war broke out about nine o'clock this morning; the enemy (rebels) at once set fire to the town, which swept house after house, and quarter after quarter, till the greater part of the town was burnt down, when a hot contest ensued, and many were killed and wounded on both sides. Our east end mission-house—Mr. White's—I regret to say, shared alike with others; it is entirely burnt down. The walls were loopholed and used as a fortification.

“As we ascertained for certain that the enemy's aim was to kill the Consul and me, and to destroy our house—the Consul lived with us—Akitoye sent a strong party for our protection, and these watched our house for several nights. The enemy, considering one captain with his company insufficient, ordered three, with their

men, to attack us; and these, simultaneously with their companions in rebellion, set fire to our part of the town, and fired upon the king's people. As at the east end, so in our quarter, the fire compelled the king's troops to retire, of which the enemy took advantage, and came so near that bullets frequently struck our house, and we had to keep away from the windows.

“Captain G——, with his men, looked on, prepared to assist in the defence of our house should the enemy come nearer; but he much urged us to embark, as he feared, with his few men, he could not save us or our house. The battle, with the intermission of a few hours during mid-day, lasted till night, and the fire had swept nearly all the houses in our neighbourhood before dark. Upwards of two thousand people, mostly women and children, took refuge and found an asylum within our walls; they added much to the confusion. Mr. Gerst attended some of the wounded; I could not assist him, suffering myself from lumbago, and having other things to attend to. Our anxiety, as you may suppose, was very great; and it was increased by the frequent reports that the merchants brought of the success of the rebels, their friends. We knew what to expect should they conquer. The slave-trade question was the cause of the rebellion and war, and of course the English must be the first to be moved out of the way.”

The following days were spent in the attempts of the Vice-consul and officers of Her Majesty's fleet to reconcile the rebellious chiefs to the king, and to detach them from the party of Kosoko, but without success.

These peace-making efforts were counteracted by a treacherous slave-dealing party within Lagos, which kept up a correspondence with the enemy. At length Kosoko landed, and was received by the rebels. During these days the naval officers repeatedly urged the missionary and his family to retire from Lagos, well knowing that those who were fighting for the renewal of the slave-trade would direct their utmost malice against a minister of religion.

Mr. Gollmer writes, August 11th: "Captain G—— came in with his three boats to protect us, or rather, carry us away, for he constantly urged the necessity of our so doing. He had exerted himself with the utmost zeal and self-devotion to negotiate between the contending chiefs, with a view to prevent hostilities, and to promote in his judgment the best interests of the cause of civilization—but all to no purpose. Four times during the last week we packed up a few clothes; and as this evening Captain G—— declared he could not save us or our house, and we must go away, we, with great reluctance, consented. But what a scene ensued I cannot describe. About fifteen of our people, native agents, who had been driven from their houses by strangers, and had taken refuge in the yard, were up in our sitting-room. When they heard that we must go away, they cried, 'Now we perish, now we perish! Will you go and leave us? Will you not rather perish with us? I don't care for myself; can't you take my wife and child?' etc., which almost broke our hearts."

Mr. Gollmer eventually determined to remain at his

post. The mission-house now became the only place of safety. On the night of the 12th the Consul, Captain G——, three officers, and four of the merchants assembled in it, and remained on the watch the whole night. On the morning of the 13th it became evident that the insurgents were about to re-commence hostilities. The narrative of Mr. Gollmer proceeds:—

“The Consul hoisted a red ensign, and the consular flag half-mast, when the Admiral immediately despatched a respectable force of nine boats. But Kosoko quietly landed at Possu’s house about noon, without a single gun being fired. Akitoye was advised not to fire, as he and his people were not strong enough to oppose the combined army of Kosoko, Tapa, Ajinia, and Possu.

“All yesterday, during the whole night, and this morning the people streamed into our place, and there were upwards of four thousand people huddled together, covering every inch of ground. As rain came on they built little sheds, so that the whole had the appearance of a large noisy market. What we felt this morning when Kosoko landed we cannot describe; no one among the English could expect mercy, and there was Kosoko already in town with some fifteen hundred armed men. But true it is when ‘need is greatest, God is nearest.’ We quietly awaited the result, and prepared to lay our lives down if God permitted it. To our great relief, the Admiral’s boats were observed crossing the bar in the afternoon, and nine boats arrived off our house by four o’clock. Lieutenant S——, H.M.S. *Polyphemus*, landed, with thirty-six marines, for the defence of our house, and

our quiet class-room below our house became again, as three times before, the guard-room of the soldiers. Lieutenant Strickland, a most active officer, and much interested in Africa, immediately mustered the native forces."

☆ By the energetic efforts of this officer, and by the appearance of the gun-boats before the house of Possu, the chief conspirator, the insurgents became alarmed; and, during the night of the 13th, Kosoko, Tapa, and the two rebellious chiefs Ajinia and Possu, stole away from Lagos, with all their adherents.

"August 14th: The scene that ensued last night can be better imagined than described. As soon as the boats had removed, Kosoko, and with him his and the rebels' host, escaped by canoe and land, and many were captured. The noise of about four thousand people in our yard, when it became known that the enemy had fled, was great, and many shouted for joy. I need not say how thankful we were for this deliverance. To the Lord be all the praise!

"August 29th: The American missionaries, Messrs. Bowen, Lacey, and Dennard, with their wives, arrived by the mail; they are with us here, as there is not a house for them to live in, on account of the late destruction by fire. They remained two weeks, and proceeded to Abeokuta on September 13th."

On the night of September 2nd, King Akitoye died suddenly. He had been ill for some time, and he sank under the labours and anxieties to which he had been exposed. His eldest son, Dosumu, was elected in his stead, and acknowledged by all the chiefs.

Mr. Gollmer concludes his narrative in these words : "You can easily understand that we are much harassed and frequently distressed in this day of anxiety and danger, which has now lasted for more than three months—constant rumours of war, and then war; and again rumours of renewed war. Besides, there are many other circumstances one cannot mention, which all tend to tax health, strength, etc., so that we—Mrs. Gollmer and myself—feel quite worn out, and long for a little rest and quietness. It was our intention, with the help of God, if health were granted us to remain at least six years before returning to England; but our time since March 1850, when we arrived, has been a time of trouble, anxiety, and danger, and we fear we shall not be able to remain much longer, except the Lord refresh and strengthen us. Remember us before a throne of grace."

Thus, for the present at least, Lagos has been preserved; and it is declared by Mr. Vice-consul Campbell, a gentleman who has resided for many years on the coast, to be "the most important position we have in Africa." He adds that, should Lagos again fall into the hands of slave-dealers, it will prove in its results the most disheartening event to the friends of Africa which has yet occurred.

The Committee (continues the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*) have reason to thank God for the patience, presence of mind, and courage exhibited by Mr. Gollmer under these most trying circumstances; and they have great satisfaction in adding the following honourable testimony to his character by the Commodore Rear-

Admiral Bruce, in a letter to him, dated H.M.S. *Penelope*, August 15th, 1853 :—

“I lament much that you should have had such an alarming state of affairs as I found at this unhappy Lagos on my return three days ago, and as, I fear, may have not yet entirely subsided. I am grieved that Mrs. Gollmer has suffered. Excuse my saying that you have exhibited perfect devotion to your righteous cause, and no small degree of moral courage in maintaining your post unhesitatingly, as you have done.”

The secretaries also wrote to Mr. Gollmer, under date October 24th, as follows : “We feel most grateful to God for having preserved you in the midst of all the confusion and bloodshed arising from these unhappy circumstances, and especially for having granted you courage and sound judgment in keeping amongst your people and not abandoning them, though so constantly urged by your naval friends to leave the scene of tumult, and to embark in order to be more fully under their protection. We trust that your fidelity will be amply repaid by the increased attachment of your people, who cannot be insensible of your having forgotten self-preservation for their good, and for the example you have shown them that your confidence in the protecting arm and love of God is a practical one.

“We deeply sympathize with you and Mrs. Gollmer in the peculiar trials to which you have been subjected, by all domestic comfort being broken up during these trials, and the many disturbances to which you have been subject ever since your return to Africa ; but it

is in His blessed service Who has raised you up to be His witnesses at this time, and called you to the special duties that have devolved upon you at Badagry and Lagos. He has indeed stood by you, and as to the final issue you have no doubt, for His glorious gospel shall prevail even in Lagos."

CHAPTER IX.

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES OF THE KING.

THE ensuing extracts of journals give an account of the work at Lagos during the latter part of the year 1853 and the beginning of 1854 :—

“September 18th, Lord’s Day: Mr. Gerst ill with fever; I was better, just able to keep my two services. After service this evening, one of the black Portuguese brought his son with his right arm broken. I splintered and bandaged it, and hope it will do well.

“November 7th: Engaged getting cowries ready for Abeokuta. At 8 o’clock P.M. held our weekly prayer-meeting as usual, during which a heavy tornado came on; and our people had scarcely returned from the prayer-meeting to their own houses when a fearfully bright flash of lightning and a heavy peal of thunder burst upon us, and we feared our house, or one close by, must be struck. I immediately looked out at the back door, when I observed a column of fire issue from the top of the thatch roof of Mr. Pearse, the school-master’s, house, not twenty yards from our house. I called as loud as I could, but the people below seemed all stunned; there was no reply, till, after a while, the people seeing the fire, young and old screamed most

lamentably. Fortunately, the heavy rain kept the fire under till some of my people were able to extinguish it, from which some superstitious strangers endeavoured to frighten them away.

“November 8th: This morning examined the house struck by lightning last night, and observed the miraculous deliverance of our people. Had the fluid not been carried off in various directions by the rafters of the roof, several persons must have been killed or injured; but so our faithful God and Father watches over His children, not a hair dare fall to the ground against His will. / Had the house belonged to a native, the Shango worshippers (god of thunder and lightning) would have come, destroyed the house, and carried all the property away as made over to them by their god. Many people came to salute us on account of our danger. About 10 A.M. I called together all our people on the premises and held a prayer-meeting, humbling ourselves before God, and offering praises for His deliverance. *inc. candle*

“December 11th, Lord's Day: The whole town was thrown into consternation by the sad information that Kosoko's people had attacked and captured upwards of three hundred Abeokuta people on the route to Otta, not far from Lagos. It was suspected Kosoko's canoes were lurking somewhere about the neighbourhood, and no one could tell what their aim was. The Egbas here went immediately in pursuit of the enemy, but could not overtake them. How painful it is to think how many a family is broken up by this sad disaster!

“December 18th, Lord's Day: Much rumour of war.

Kosoko's canoes have come again. The Egbas went by land after the enemy, whom they met, and fought till noon. Six boats of Her Majesty's ships-of-war came to the Lagos people's assistance, but were too late, the enemy having fled on observing the consular barge. After the usual morning prayers, instead of a sermon, I and my native agents, with the whole congregation, humbled ourselves before God, and supplicated mercy at His throne for ourselves and the people gone out to war."

On December 26th a treat was given to the school-children, concerning which Mr. White writes as follows:—

"December 26th: This day we made a show of both our schools. The two schools met at the Rev. Mr. Gollmer's yard, and Mr. and Mrs. Gollmer devoted the whole morning to the distribution of clothes and other pretty things to the children. After this the children marched to Her Britannic Majesty's Consul's yard, with an English ensign flying before them, where, as soon as they arrived, they sang the national anthem, 'God save Britannia's Queen.' The Consul was very much pleased at the success attending our schools in the increase of our number. He made the children a present of a bag of cowries. Thence they proceeded to King Dosumu's house, where, upon their arrival, they waited to be received by the king. A short time after his majesty made his appearance, and having seated himself, I read to him the national hymn, which we had previously translated into Yoruba for the occasion, and then the children sang it. His

Majesty then commanded water to be fetched in a large glass vessel, and the children drank of it. He also made them a present of a bag of cowries. The children returned to the Rev. Mr. Gollmer's, and were entertained by him, and having had their cowries distributed among them, they were dismissed."

December 26th, Mr. Gollmer concludes his journal for 1853: "Taking a retrospective view of the year now closing—the storms which passed over us, the dangers we were delivered from, our strength made equal to our day, and the many the Lord added to His people in spite of all opposition—makes me exclaim, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul: and all that is within me, bless His holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits.'"

The mission was at this time strengthened by the arrival of Edward Irving, Esq., M.D., of Her Majesty's navy, who, with the permission of the Board of Admiralty, devoted his time to the amelioration of the condition of the natives in connection with the Church Missionary Society's operations in its Yoruba stations. Dr. Irving spent his time partly at Lagos, but principally at Abeokuta; he was enabled to render essential service by conducting the correspondence with Her Majesty's Consul, the officers of the squadron, and the native chiefs, while he at the same time prosecuted inquiries as to the natural resources of the country, and laid himself out to encourage and promote legitimate commerce (see *Intelligencer*, 1853, pp. 123—237). The Rev. J. and Mrs. Smith landed at Lagos, January 18th, 1854, on their way to Abeokuta.

Mr. Gollmer continues, February 8th, 1854: "Accompanied by Dr. Irving, I, with Mrs. Gollmer and child, embarked in a small canoe for Abeokuta this morning.

"February 11th: Having been poled up the river for three days and for a few hours this morning, we soon reached the landing-place, and arrived at Ake at twelve o'clock, and were kindly welcomed and lodged by our old friends Mr. and Mrs. Townsend.

"February 28th: I received a letter from Mr. Morgan, at Otta, a few days since, stating that he heard Kosoko was waylaying me, and begging me not to take the river route. Other reports to the same effect reached us also from other quarters; but knowing that many reports are false, and committing ourselves to the gracious care and protection of our heavenly Father, we left our kind friends at Abeokuta this morning and proceeded homeward. The report about the danger in our way reached some of Mr. Crowther's converts who came to trade at Lagos, during which time they found shelter in a small house I built for them in the corner of our premises, and they felt called to accompany us past the place of danger. Accordingly, nine of them armed themselves, and in a canoe hastily followed us, and, to our agreeable surprise, overtook us this evening as we pitched the tent. Soon after a tornado came on, and some of them assisted in keeping the tent-pole erect, lest the wind should deprive us of our cloth house.

"March 2nd: The river is considerably more shallow than when we came up; the water dried up

much, so that it was with extra exertion, and assistance from our friends of peace, dressed in war apparel, that we reached the big water Ossa this evening. Our friends accompanied us across the dangerous spots, where Kosoko's people generally attack, each with his gun in hand, ready for defence; but, God be praised! we passed in peace, and they returned in peace. We felt thankful as we entered our house at 9 o'clock P.M.

"March 3rd: Many people came to salute us, as having escaped danger. From Mr. Gerst I learnt that the reports were frequent and loud, and he consulted the Consul what step to take to ensure our safety. However, the Lord is our refuge and shield."

The following extracts from Mr. White's journal give an account of the funeral obsequies of King Akitoye:—

"February 20th: This morning, before daybreak, King Dosumu laid out the pretended corpse of his father, who died six months ago. It was a pile of cloth shaped so as to represent the body, and then covered all over with a beautiful crimson velvet. His sword was lying by, and his crown placed on the body. That side of the wall near which the body lay was covered with velvet of green, blue, and purple, from top to bottom, lapped one over the other, leaving out just a foot of each to view. Upon this pictures were fastened, and huge looking-glasses, and the cuckoo clock, were hung up. Before the corpse were set white square bottles, filled with rum, from which they served spectators and strangers. Cowries were strewed on

RUSTIC BRIDGE IN THE IJEBU COUNTRY.



the floor, and people sat on them. The king's relatives took their seats next to the corpse. On the right and left were the drummers, fifers, singers and songstresses, etc., and the spectators and strangers stood in front. The corpse lay there for three days, after which it was conveyed away during the night ; but the feasting and rejoicing continued for several days afterwards, and the followers of the various deities came by turns to rejoice with the king. Having performed all the usual ceremonies, with the exception of human sacrifice, King Dosumu put off mourning for his father, by shaving his head and arraying himself in beautiful attire. All his subjects followed the example, shaving themselves and changing their clothes. There was, however, this difference—the king and every free man shaved partially, whilst all slaves shaved the whole of their head. Henceforth, poor Akitoye, now numbered among the dead, is deified, and the young king and every idolater offer prayers to him.”

March 20th, Mr. Gollmer continues : “The chief Atamballa, from Ikorodu, Jebu country, was here last month, assisting King Dosumu, as is customary, to bury his father, Akitoye. Atamballa paid us several visits, and much encouraged us to visit him at Ikorodu, which was a most welcome invitation, we having desired to do something for Jebu the last two years. The king and some other friends wished us to wait a little longer, as they feared Kosoko's people might injure us ; but not having sufficient reason to apprehend anything, and having commended and committed ourselves into the hand of our Father above, this morning Mr. Gerst

and myself sailed in our boat down the big water Ossa. On observing our boat some of the Lagos people took courage and followed after us, to purchase provisions at Ikorodu."

On their arrival the missionaries were kindly received by the friendly chief Atamballa, and an immense crowd soon gathered round them to gaze at the wonderful strangers, "the white men" of whom they had heard so much. The next day there was an assembly of the chiefs, and the missionaries explained to them the object of their visit. "We are messengers," they said, "of peace, sent by the great God of heaven and earth; will you give us a place to build a house, and afterwards send your children to school to be taught?" They replied "they would consider the matter."

Ikorodu at this time numbered perhaps between six thousand and eight thousand inhabitants. Here was the famous slave-mart, for many years, which supplied Lagos with slaves from the interior; and the great wealth, which some of the chiefs still possessed, was accumulated from this very source. Many of the inhabitants cherished a hope of the return of the golden old time, but two years had elapsed, and there was no prospect yet; so many had begun to turn their attention to lawful trade. These were friendly to Lagos and the missionaries, and desired them to come and stay in their midst; but the other party, hostile alike to the missionaries and lawful trade, friends of Kosoko, continued to hope that one day they would have their turn.

Hence, although the friendly chiefs begged the missionaries not to stay long before they returned, nothing definite was decided upon. Atamballa and the second captain of war accompanied the missionaries down to the wharf, when again, as on their arrival, he saluted them with musketry. They arrived at Lagos on the evening of March 24th.

CHAPTER X.

FIRST-FRUITS.

AT the end of April (1854) the missionaries received a pressing invitation from Akarigbo, at Ofin, to come to his town. They, therefore, proceeded at once to Ikorodu, and arrived there about four o'clock the same day.

Concerning this visit Mr. Gollmer says :—

“May 2nd: The two war-chiefs, Atamballa and Ogbeyin, and many of their people, came a mile and a-half to meet us by the way, and expressed their joy at again seeing us, which was seconded by a discharge of musketry and drums. Many people awaited our arrival at the gate, but a heavy shower dispersed the multitude, and effected a quiet entry for us.

“May 3rd: Early this morning the chiefs sent messengers, with a present of a hog, to salute us, and to say they were glad to see us among them. With the permission of the chief Atamballa, we employed some of our people to cut down part of the bush on the parcel of land granted us on our last visit. Whilst in the midst of the work two of the chiefs came, and, in a somewhat angry tone, said to us and to Atamballa that they were deputed by the other chiefs to make

us desist from cutting the bush, inasmuch as they do not now wish us to build a house here. If we reside at Lagos, send now and then messengers, keep the trade road open, so that they can buy and sell, they will be satisfied; and that, in case we resist, they would call out the Aluku and Agomo—superstitions personified—to drive us and our friends from their town.

“Not wishing to give offence, well knowing that our object is not gained by such opposition, we immediately ordered our men to give up. We reasoned with the chiefs, but all to no purpose. As soon as we left the spot the attendants of the two chiefs tied something like charms or poison to sticks on four different places, to prevent us and others coming near. Finding that some one had biassed the chiefs against us, we did not visit them as intended, but returned home. At our quarters we were told that no sooner had Kosoko heard of our intention to build a house at Ikorodu, than he sent some of his people to aid those friendly to him at Ikorodu to suppress British interests, and to prevent our getting a footing there.

“Towards evening we took a walk as usual; as the chiefs had sent word in the morning we are no longer strangers, we can walk anywhere we please. However, wishing not to offend the friends of Kosoko by our presence, we abstained from going to that quarter, and took the road to Ode, many children following and gazing at us. But we were not above two hundred yards from the gate when about twelve men, armed with cutlasses, rushed up to us, brandishing their swords, and in murderous attitude and with dreadful

hallooing attacked us, and demanded our return, with which we forthwith complied without remonstrance or restraint. Nevertheless one struck Mr. Gerst, and another seized him by the breast. Our native agents sheltered Mr. Gerst, and received the many blows they dealt forth, until we reached the town, when other people came to prevent them; but for some distance all sorts of missiles—sticks, hard clay, shells, stones—were thrown at us; two struck me, and some Mr. Gerst, but thank God, we were not injured. God watched over us and preserved us. Many missiles flew past our heads and persons, but God warded them off. Our attendant, the messenger of the chief Atamballa, was a little wounded. King Dosumu's messengers were beaten, and had missiles thrown at them, as all our native agents. On reaching our quarters, we were told the secret of this opposition and ill-treatment was that the chiefs and people at Ikorodu, and all over Jebu, are angry with the English for hanging Kosoko on their neck to trouble them; and they say that, as it appears the English are not able to conquer Kosoko, they must refuse the friendship of the English, and court that of Kosoko, as they fear his terrible revenge should he ever regain power, which they believe he yet will; and therefore the chiefs here have changed their minds, and thus the mob can ill-use us.

“We, therefore, deemed it imprudent and unsafe to proceed to Ofin, in the interior, and returned to Lagos the same night.

“June 20th: Messengers from the chief Akarigbo, at Ofin, Jebu country, arrived; they were sent on

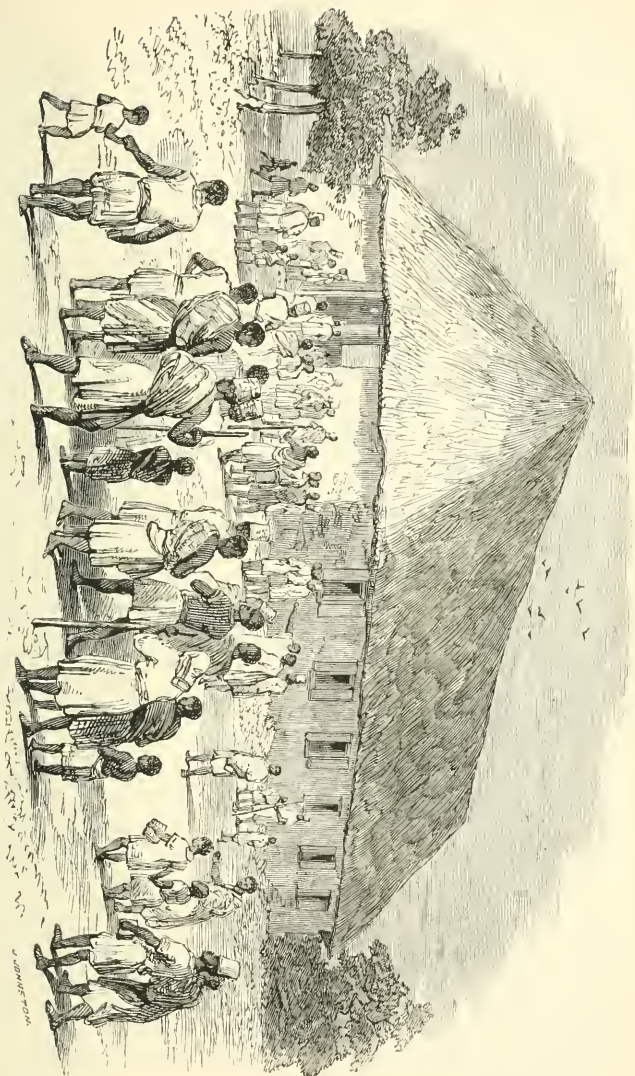
purpose to us to beg us not to be angry about our maltreatment at Ikorodu. He was very sorry for it ; but he begs us to give it to God, *i.e.*, leave it to God, and that he, the chief, wants us, and we must come soon ; he wants to see us ; and if he sees us, then he can talk with us what to do to the people who treated us so badly ; that he will send messengers to Ikorodu, and see us safe to his place, Ofin, etc. We were glad to see these messengers ; and we sent word to the chief that we are not angry, and leave all in the hands of God ; that we do not wish him to punish, but simply to warn the people who maltreated us, as they did not know what they did ; and that as soon as he, with the chief Atamballa—who was present, having come over to Lagos for some business—have made the path smooth, *i.e.*, pacified those angry people, we are ready to come and see him at Ofin, and therefore wait till we hear again from him. May God open an effectual door into the large Jebu country, now covered with gross darkness !

“August 2nd : A large full-grown male leopard was killed not far from our house this morning ; he attacked and severely wounded two men. Mr. Gerst and I were occupied several hours in dressing their wounds.

“August 3rd : We resolved, for some time past, to hold public missionary meetings ; but fearing the rain would prevent many from attending, we waited till this day, when, after due notice, we had our first meeting, which was well attended ; and we collected, at the meeting and afterwards, the sum of £31 14s. 10d., for which we are thankful.

"August 27th, Lord's Day: A blessed day, one long desired. This morning, after prayers, I had the privilege to admit twenty-four adults, and, in the afternoon, sixteen children and infants, into Christ's visible Church. The adults are eleven men and thirteen women; ten of them, viz., three men and seven women, attending Mr. White's place of worship, and who were 'brought nigh' through his labours more especially, I may say; and the other fourteen attending our church, and being the fruit of our labour. There were two couples, husband and wife, among the baptized. I might have baptized them sooner, but I would not press them too much as regards the rule to have but one wife, but let them be rooted in grace and in the knowledge of His Word, to have strength to renounce of themselves the devil and all his works, in which I was not made ashamed, for all have come out from the world and live as becometh a Christian. I have bestowed much time and attention to prepare them for the sacred rite; and I was myself edified sometimes in class in hearing their humble confession, and their simple but decided faith in Christ as their own Saviour. May they be preserved from the evil one and be found faithful at last; and may many be added to their number!

"I am glad to add all of them know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; several can read the Yoruba Testament, and most, if not all, the Primer. This we call the firstfruit of our Lagos mission. We take courage, and go on to sow the seed of life, looking to the Lord for prosperity."



FIRST CHURCH AT LAGOS.

Mr. White thus alludes to the above solemn occasion :—

“It was a very delightful scene. The church was pretty full. The candidates for baptism, dressed in white, were arranged in front, and the whole ceremony was full of solemnity. It was particularly cheering to me that ten of my own people, whom I have laboured to bring to Christ, are among the number. They, for a long time, have been met in class, with the other candidates of the station, by the Rev. Mr. Gollmer, from whom they have received a regular course of instruction. Besides, I have endeavoured to familiarize myself with, and have made my house open to, each and every one of them ; so that I have had the opportunity of imparting to them the knowledge of the Saviour, as much as I can, besides Sundays ; and they have shown, by their conversation and attendance on the means of grace, that their entire dependence is on the Saviour ; and they are convinced that, if they would be saved, it must be by Christ, and Him only. May God enable them all to go on to perfection, and may others, seeing this, press forward to the mark of our high calling !

“August 31st : A day of tribulation. The Rev. G. F. Gerst died suddenly of fever and apoplexy, after a short illness.

“September 3rd, Lord’s Day : The town was much disturbed on account of Kosoko, who was expected to make an attack. We assembled in the House of God, and I preached from Psalm cxxi. : ‘I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.’

In the afternoon we held a prayer-meeting, we, with the congregation, supplicating mercy at the throne of grace.

"September 23rd: For some time past I was busy with my church, fearing interruption from war and destruction from rain. Many were the obstacles I had to contend with; and had I not made a sacrifice, paying double and treble the usual prices, I should not have got the necessary material. But now I have hopes of success. To-day we completed the framework of the roof, and covered the lower parts with thatch, to keep the rains from spoiling the wall.

"October 9th: A day of anxiety, danger, joy, and praise: we were blessed with the gift of a son.

"October 24th: The Bishop of Sierra Leone (Bishop Vidal) and Mr. Graf arrived from Sierra Leone.

"October 29th, Lord's Day: I am thankful to be able to report that after a great effort I succeeded in completing our new church, so as to be able to open it to-day for Divine service. This solemn event, and especially the presence of the Bishop, caused a very large attendance; I estimate the church to hold about five hundred people, but on this occasion upwards of six hundred were present.

"This large assembly, with the goodly number of communicants in the front seats, dressed in white, resolved to renew their baptismal vow, and to pledge themselves as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, to fight under His banner unto their lives' end, caused deep emotion within me.

"After morning prayer, the solemn service of Con-

firmation commenced, and, to the surprise of many, the Bishop commenced reading intelligibly in Yoruba the service which I had previously translated. In companies of fourteen the communicants knelt round the communion rail, when the Bishop laid hands upon them, and thus seventy-five were this day confirmed. After the Confirmation the Bishop addressed the large assembly, and all listened attentively to the exposition of the solemn subject, the baptismal vow, 'What we renounce, and what we promise.' We felt the Lord's blessing upon us."

✂ On the 31st "the Bishop and Mr. Graf proceeded to Abeokuta; Mr. Gollmer followed November 16th, and arrived on the 18th. On the 19th nearly three hundred communicants were confirmed at Ake; and on the 26th an Ordination Service was held for the first time in the Yoruba mission, when three European brethren received priest's orders, and two African brethren were ordained deacons. Upwards of two hundred persons partook of the Lord's Supper. On the 28th the Bishop and Messrs. Graf and Gollmer returned to Lagos." ✂

One of the last acts of the Bishop, before leaving for Sierra Leone—and as it proved before being called to lay down his life for Africa—was to baptize Mr. Gollmer's little son.* The Bishop and Mr. and Mrs. Townsend kindly accepted the office of sponsors. The Bishop left Lagos in apparently perfect health, but was attacked with country fever, and died within forty-eight hours of his reaching Sierra Leone.

* He afterwards became a missionary to Lagos.

The following extracts from a letter written by Archdeacon Graf, January 5th, 1855, refer to this sad event :—

“On Tuesday the 26th ult. I returned from the Yoruba mission, whither I had accompanied the Bishop, partly as chaplain, and partly to see whether the little sea voyage might possibly so far recruit my health as to prevent my returning to England.

“Would to God I could cheer your heart with the glowing recital of the cheering, merciful dealings with us by land and by water, and of the great and cheering manifestations of God’s rich blessing upon the Society’s work in that land. We saw it at Lagos, Abeokuta, Ibadan, and Ijaye; it filled our hearts with gladness and our mouths with thanksgiving. But alas! our joy is turned into mourning, and our praise into lamentation. May the Lord mercifully support you under the grievous burden of sorrow! But it must be told—the startling announcement that Afric’s Church has lost her head. Her Bishop has entered into his eternal rest. Hale and strong did he go on board the *Bacchante* at Lagos, December 9th, on our return to Sierra Leone; whilst I, just delivered from the jaws of death, was carried wrapt in a blanket, as a dying man, on board, where all thought I came to die. The Bishop was attacked with fever on the 23rd, and to our utter dismay, at ten o’clock on Sunday evening, December 24th, he expired.”

On the receipt of this letter the Committee proceeded to express their sense of the loss which the mission had sustained in the following minute: “The Com-

mittee have received the intelligence of the death of Dr. Vidal, Bishop of Sierra Leone, with profound grief. His deep spirituality of mind, his gentleness and Christian humility, united with great decision of character and uncommon philological attainments, seemed to have marked him out as an instrument of eminent usefulness in the evangelization of Africa. He has been removed, in the inscrutable providence of God, after the brief exercise of his office for eighteen months in his diocese; but not till he had won the respect, confidence, and affection of all classes, and had gained much information respecting the wants of Africa, and had digested various plans for its benefit." *

* *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, 1855, p. 65.

CHAPTER XI.

STORMS AT SEA AND ON LAND.

ON March 10th, 1855, the Rev. H. and Mrs. Townsend, and Mr. and Mrs. Gollmer and their two children, left Lagos by the *Ethiope*, and Archdeacon and Mrs. Graf left Sierra Leone by the same steamer on the 22nd of that month; but they did not reach Liverpool until May 18th, owing to terrific storms.

Mr. Gollmer gives the following account of this voyage :—

“After we left Sierra Leone our ship sustained some damage at sea, and we had to put back to the Gambia, the nearest African coast, to undergo repairs; here we were delayed two weeks, and there was no accommodation on shore.

“Again we proceeded on our journey and reached the Bay of Biscay, and were within five days of home—which after a long sojourn abroad we were most anxious to reach, having two young children with us—when a strong wind began to blow across the Bay, right against us. The wind increased in violence as we advanced, and turned into a storm, which it was feared our vessel could not weather out; but in the providence of God the power of the raging sea broke the main shaft of our

screw propeller, so that we could proceed no further, and had no alternative but to sail before the wind, run into the river Tagus for shelter, and repair damages at Lisbon.*

“After about five days the steamer was announced ready to sail ; we went on board, and all appeared well till we reached about the same part as before in the Bay, when we encountered another storm, by which other parts of the machinery of our steamer were seriously damaged, so that we were again obliged to return as quickly as possible to Lisbon for safety. This was no small disappointment to all of us ; but we had also cause to be thankful to God for thus saving our lives, as, humanly speaking, our vessel must have foundered during the gale that was blowing for several days, whilst we were safely housed at Lisbon.

“It was afterwards found that the steam power of our machinery was far from being equal to the size of our vessel, and therefore we could not have expected our steamer to make way through such a sea. As it was uncertain whether our steamer could proceed to England, and being advised not to venture again in her, we took our passage in a small steamer (a fruiterer) which brought us safely to England ; but we were ten weeks instead of one month accomplishing the voyage.”

In the *Church Missionary Record* of March 1856, the following account is given of Lagos at this time : “This port (which is an island), so lately the den of cruelty,

* Some of their fellow-passengers (Government officers) declared the ship unseaworthy, and left her to return to England by another vessel.

from which so many cargoes of slaves were shipped for Brazil, Cuba, etc., and taken by the British fleet, under Admiral Bruce, in December 1851, is now rapidly becoming a centre of commerce and civilization; and where the natives bring their produce of palm-oil, ground-nuts, cotton, etc., for transmission to British and other ports. Good buildings and warehouses are in course of erection, and the whole face of this furnace of Satanic cruelty is changed, and is likely soon to become a place of importance, and we trust a blessing to Africa."

On the return of the Rev. Messrs. Townsend and Gollmer to England, the Rev. S. Crowther removed to Lagos. His accounts of the progress of events at Lagos were encouraging. He established services in English at the Mission Church, which were very well attended by the natives from Sierra Leone, as well as by traders and others. Mr. Crowther was on terms of intimacy with King Dosumu, and maintained with his usual affability and Christian kindness the goodwill of all around him.

The Rev. D. Hinderer, having paid a visit to Lagos October 1st, 1855, writes: "Lagos is wonderfully improving; the blessings of legal commerce are astonishing here, only in this short time; every corner in the town has assumed the appearance of respectability. The English service, which Mr. Crowther has commenced, is so well attended that all the corners of the church are occupied; and as a place for a change from the interior, Lagos is of the greatest importance."

During Messrs. Townsend and Gollmer's absence in

England, a movement was set on foot, by those who desired the revival of the slave-trade to prevail, to prevent if possible their return to West Africa. The result of their efforts was the very reverse of what they desired. The Alake and chiefs of Abeokuta heard of this attempt, and it called forth a counteracting memorial, one of the most deeply interesting and important documents, which we (*Church Missionary Intelligencer*) ever remember to have read. It is addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the Society.

“AKE, ABEOKUTA, *May 29th, 1855.*

“REV. AND DEAR SIR,—It having come to my knowledge, a few weeks ago, that a petition was drawn up by a party of merchants and traders at Lagos, to the effect of preventing the return to this country of Messrs. Townsend and Gollmer, who have recently left us for England—

“I, the Alake, or King, of Abeokuta, together with my subjects, who have been eyewitnesses of the great and incessant labours and self-denying actions of the above missionaries for the Egba nation, have consulted together, and we have come to the conclusion that it is both right and necessary that we should express our humble opinions of the efficacy of the labours of these missionaries, Messrs. Townsend and Gollmer, after the space of ten years’ personal acquaintance with them; and, at the same time, we would also humbly ask the favour of their return to us again, after they shall have had a perfect recruit of health and strength in their native land.

“The Egba nation I fear, will go to ruins, and my chiefs, the baloguns of Iporo, Ikija, Ijewu, Owu, and other towns, entertain the same fear with me, if we should remain blind to our own interest, and allow ourselves to be led over and

prevailed upon by the absurd and foolish notions of men who are entirely uninterested in the welfare of their own country, and if we do not at once exert ourselves upon this conviction, in representing the real state of the affairs of our country to you, our benefactors, in their true and lively colours. We are not unaware of the dangers to which the Rev. Messrs. Townsend, Crowther, and Gollmer exposed themselves for the good of our country, when in the year 1845 they first arrived at Badagry; we are quite conscious of the great risk of personal safety through which they kept their posts, when the King of Dahomey, unrestrained by the fear of any foreign power, endeavoured, conjointly with the slave-dealers, to blast every probable effort to suppress the slave-trade, and facilitate legitimate commerce. When Mr. Faulkner, one of the first African traders that owned a vessel, anchored at Badagry to purchase oil and ivory, he was himself captured by the King of Dahomey, and would have been undoubtedly killed had not the English interfered. The lives of our missionaries, Messrs. Townsend, Crowther, Smith, and Gollmer, were then in great danger; they expected capture or death daily, and with their wives suffered the want of provisions for their daily sustenance. Amidst all these privations, endured for the good of our country, they determined either to keep their posts or die.

“There was then no one directly commissioned to attend to the political state of the country. The missionaries, therefore, for their own safety’s sake, were obliged to be advisers for self-defence as well as soldiers of Christ; and need we refer also to the case of the Dahomians, when they poured on my town and upon my subjects as if to overwhelm us? If no one else did, I am certain that I depended much on them for direction. Their presence and strength of mind kept up my spirits, which were really cast down through the notions that I had generally enter-

tained of those foes. My subjects all owned the utility of the Oyibos (white men), and to a child all saw that we owed our safety to them. When some captains and petty warriors turned their backs to the war, it was these Oyibos that sent them back. The victory over the Dahomians was due, therefore, to the God of these missionaries, through their instrumentality.

“Another point, also, that I should like to call your attention to is this—Christianity, as producing peace among my people. Now, although I myself am still a heathen, yet I am not blind to facts. The first is, that the present state of Abeokuta is not what it was ten years ago, for instead of war there is peace. The second is, that Christianity is a really powerful religion, for its effects upon the minds of my people are so well marked that we all admire it. And thirdly, that the Oyibos, although a small and weak body, observing them outwardly, yet they are stronger than any of my mighty men in the country.

“One instance of this will suffice. In the case of the Adu war there was none in all Abeokuta, or in the surrounding towns, who, either by force of power or strength, could have been able to remove the baloguns from their encampment ; and although I was the first chief of Abeokuta then, yet I could not have effected it ; but to my surprise, who do you think did it ? Who were those that pitched their tents of conciliation in a most dangerous spot, between the camps of two savage and hostile people ? They were the two missionaries, Messrs. Townsend and Crowther. In a few days after, to my great astonishment, I understood that these Oyibos actually brought the warriors home to their houses, for Shomoi, the obbashorun, was actually led into the town and taken to his own house by these missionaries, and delivered to his wives in peace. Now, dear sir, who could have effected this, had not these missionaries

respect and honour, both from the chiefs and people? And, above all, were they not loved by the Egba nation, could they have been listened to? Would their advice have been taken?

“With regard to the second point, that Christianity is a powerful religion, I would allow my subjects who have been converted to that religion to express their own mind on that point.”

Here is introduced into the document the testimony of the Christian Yorubas.

“The arrival of the missionaries is quite a new event to us who are converted in Abeokuta. We had been in gross darkness and ignorance before this event; we knew no heaven and feared no hell. But when Messrs. Townsend, Crowther, Smith, and Gollmer came, they taught us the way of salvation, and this instruction has proved beneficial to our souls. Peace has been established, and we are now enjoying the sweets of the Gospel. We have become personally much attached to these missionaries; we understand their dealings and they ours. They alone are able to prevail on our fathers at such times as persecutions are raised against us, because our fathers know them as old acquaintances, and would fain yield to their advice on that account. This privilege new missionaries have not got.”

The king then resumes :—

“One last point we shall observe before we conclude, and that is, the liberty we now enjoy as the result of the peace that has been effected through the instrumentality of Messrs. Townsend and Crowther in Abeokuta.

“Within six years back the roads to Ijaye, Ibadan, Ketu, and Jebu were very dangerous; a caravan of fifty could

not pass them with safety. Kidnappers made these roads their homes, and the chiefs and rulers of these several towns countenanced the actions of these men-stealers. But observe the contrast. At present, a single female could travel three days' journey without any fear of danger, for where there is no danger there is also no cause for fear. Little boys and girls can go eight, nine, ten miles beyond the walls of Abeokuta safely, no one daring to touch them. Is this not really a cause of much thanks to you, for sending us such men? And would you not feel with us, when we ask for their return to us again? It is their peace we now enjoy. In their peace an obba-shorun was made, and in their peace a king was crowned.

“The absence of these missionaries, therefore, from us has made us chilly. We pray you to send them us again, and many others like them for the several towns of our extensive country.”

Then follow the signatures of the Alake and fifteen of the principal chiefs, of thirteen Sierra Leone emigrants, and the numerical aggregate of native converts belonging to the various congregations in Abeokuta who gave in their names—Ake, 225 ; Igbein, 210 ; Ikija, 90 ; Owu, 30.

CHAPTER XII.

REINFORCEMENTS.

THE Committee and their friends met together October 10th, 1856, to take leave of the Rev. H. and Mrs. Townsend, and five catechists, Messrs. Carter, Hollinhead, Meakin, Smith, and Buckley, proceeding to the Yoruba Mission.

Mr. and Mrs. Townsend and Messrs. Carter, Hollinhead, and Meakin sailed in the *Candace* on October 24th; and Messrs. Smith and Buckley,* and Mr. and Mrs. Gollmer and their infant son Alfred, left England January 24th, 1857, and arrived at Lagos February 20th. The child referred to above was born in London on October 31st, and lived with his parents in the interior of the Yoruba country for five years, until their return to England in 1862.

"Our reception at Lagos," Mr. Gollmer writes, "among our warm African friends was, as might be expected, most hearty. The king and chiefs, heathens and Christians, had planned a demonstration of respect by going to meet us on the beach, and by fetching us up to town (about three miles) with shouts of joy,

* The Rev. J. Buckley (Wood) is still spared for active service after thirty years' faithful labour.

discharge of firearms, beating of drums, etc. ; but this we prevented by landing quietly the previous evening. As soon as our arrival was known, many people came

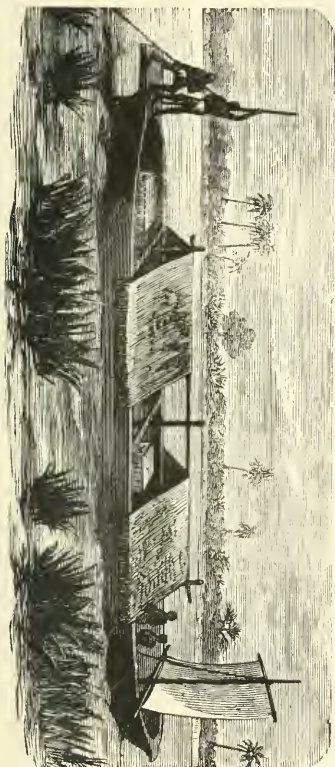
to salute us, and many a 'Thank God' was heard. Some were not content with simply shaking hands, and welcoming us, and returning, but gave expression to their joy by firing muskets. The joy of many, however, turned to sorrow when they heard of our appointment to Abeokuta ; they wished us to remain with them as before.

"During our three weeks' detention at Lagos, on account of an expected attack on Abeokuta by Dahomey, we observed the vast strides

of the interests of the world, and the comparatively slow progress of the Redeemer's kingdom.

"Our journey to Abeokuta we performed in a small canoe, which two men pushed up the river Ogun with

ON THE RIVER OGUN, BETWEEN LAGOS AND ABEOKUTA.



poles. Two small mattresses were laid at the bottom of the canoe; Mrs. Gollmer sat on one and I on the other, with our infant in the cradle between us, a temporary mat roof screening us from a vertical sun.

“Having left Lagos for about three hours, I was seized with a violent attack of intermittent fever, from which I suffered much, not having any medicine in the canoe; the only relief I had was the cooling of my burning head and hands with the river water. The fever returned every alternate day with increased violence, and I felt very ill when we arrived at Abeokuta the fifth day—March 21st.

“Having enjoyed the kindness of our old friends Mr. and Mrs. Townsend for a few days, and being a little better, I, with Mrs. Gollmer and Messrs. Smith and Buckley, proceeded to Ikija, our newly-appointed station, and in the name of the Lord entered on our sphere of labour, determined not to know anything but Christ and Him crucified.

“My plans were to attend to the established services, to visit all communicants, candidates, and hearers connected with our church in their houses, and the heathen around us; to visit our out-stations, Ibara and Isaga, and other towns besides, and to study the language more attentively.

“It pleased the Lord to afflict me much. During the greater part of the first month I suffered more or less from fever, and the last two months I was sorely troubled with boils. I was not altogether laid by, for often I was better on the Lord’s Day; and again and again I went to church with my right arm in a sling,

so that I could take one or two services most Sundays.

"April 7th: A time of anguish and danger. I had scarcely got a little better when my dear wife was taken seriously ill, owing probably to the bad water we had to drink.

"April 27th: Our Monday evening prayer-meetings, in English and Yoruba, are very refreshing seasons. We regret we cannot accommodate all who come, our room being too small."

Mr. Gollmer, writing in June, gives some account of pernicious marriage customs. He says:—

B.S. "A bad custom in connection with a native or heathen marriage is, the parents of the daughter receiving from £2 to £5 worth of cowries, either from the father or the relatives of the young man, or from the future husband himself, as a sort of pledge of the engagement made between the parties. This is termed 'paying on her head.' This bad custom is too often a source of annoyance and grief to the wife during her life, for many times she is told, 'Have I not paid so much on your head? Take care;' or, 'If you can pay the forty or fifty heads of cowries I paid on your head, you can go home again.' This sum of money, and an equivalent for presents made during the many years of engagement, such as clothes, corn, yams, etc., must be repaid to the man or his relatives, in case of death of either the girl or the man. But double and treble that sum will be demanded by the man in case the girl or her parents wish to break off the engagement, and frequently it causes terrible palavers, *i.e.*, disputes and fighting.

"I am sorry to say that some of our converts still retain part of this heathenish custom, viz., paying or receiving a small sum, from £1 to £2; but it is a bad principle, which I brought before my people, begging them to adopt Christian principles, and never receive money on the head of their daughters, *i.e.*, payment for her, or pay money to engage a girl, or buy and sell their children, for it almost amounted to it; and I added, I would not marry any one who has thus paid money for his future wife.

"Two young girls are still with us for protection, who, a short time ago, were about to suffer in consequence of their parents' folly, having promised or engaged them to heathen husbands for a sum of money. The cases of the girls are similar. The parents, some six years ago, when father, mother, and daughter were still heathen, promised the girl or engaged her to a heathen man, who paid about twenty heads of cowries, and made presents besides. In the meantime the parents and the daughter heard the Word of God, and were converted. As Christians they could no longer consent to be thus unequally yoked together, a Christian wife with a heathen husband. They, therefore, sought to have the matter quietly settled by paying the man his due and over; but he took advantage of it, and claimed one hundred and eleven heads of cowries, or five times the amount he paid. As it was feared the intended husband might use violence, and take the girl by force and injure her, she was brought to us for protection, being one of our communicants, while the matter was being settled.

"July 6th, Missionary meeting: Having given due

notice, we held our first missionary meeting here this evening, which was attended by almost all our people. My object in holding the meeting was not to make a collection, but to give missionary information, and to awaken our people to their Christian duty; but though notice was given that no collection would be made, several people brought cowries.

“August 5th: Twenty thousand Yoruba tracts distributed. The Yoruba tracts, ‘Erun Orun,’ ‘Heavenly Crumbs,’ or sixteen short sermons, which the Religious Tract Society kindly printed for me, arrived here; and to-day I had the great pleasure to distribute upwards of twenty thousand of them among our various stations up and down the land, and to the Wesleyan and Baptist missions in this country. Assisted by Messrs. Smith and Buckley I unpacked the boxes, sorted and counted out the tracts, put them up in parcels, and sent them to the superintendents of the respective stations for distribution among the people. The people gladly and thankfully received the tracts. I asked some of the applicants, ‘Do you understand the word in the little book, and do you like it?’ and the reply was, ‘We understand it altogether: it is sweet too much.’ The Lord’s blessing accompany and rest upon each of the tracts!

“August 29th: Met both candidates and communicants in class for instruction. Last Saturday, after the hour of instruction, I had the pleasure to receive one man and one woman, and this evening four women, as candidates for baptism; so the Lord adds one after the other to the number of those who shall be saved. Two

of the women brought me the idols they had long worshipped. One of the gods delivered was Shango, the god of thunder and lightning. Two others were Eshu, or



DEVIL-PRIEST, AT ABEOKUTA.

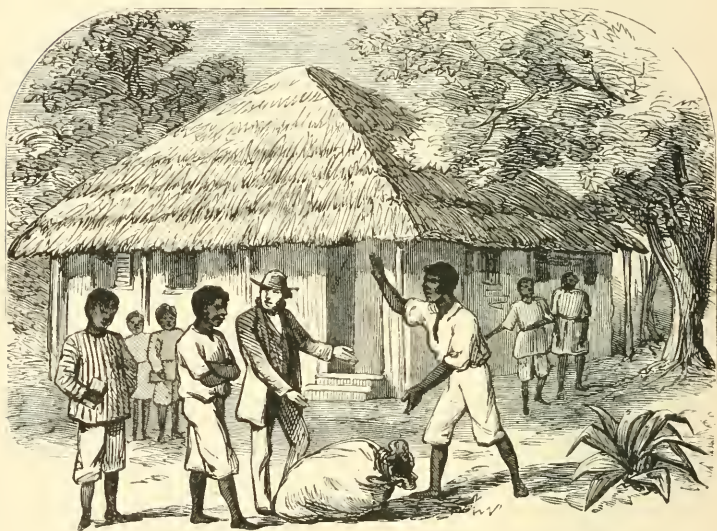
Elegbara, *i.e.*, the devil. One of the women renouncing her gods declared that now she can believe [in Christ, Who is sufficient. The other woman said, 'This

is not my original god, but a substitute, for the dogs carried away the former.' She then stated that one day she was accosted by a priestess of Elegbara (of whom, as of the other gods, there are many representations, they making it their livelihood), who said to her, 'I know the reason why you have no more children : it is the Elegbara that troubles you. I advise you to worship Elegbara, and you will have your desire.' The poor credulous heathen women desire nothing so much as children. The bargain was made, and the priestess engaged to furnish one of those powerful representatives of Elegbara for about three shillings. The object is composed of four rows of cowries peculiarly strung, fastened, and daubed over. And it seems the poor woman, when sacrificing to her god, poured some blood over him, and rendered it thus an object of attraction and desire to the canine species, who ran away with it. Alas ! what gods are these, and how can man believe in them ? The woman, in her trouble about the lost god, went to the priestess and told her what had taken place ; but she, to get out of the dilemma, at once offered to supply another, for which she should only have to pay one shilling and sixpence.

"How accommodating these deceitful priestesses are, and how ignorant and blind the people to believe in their gods and lords many !

"September 15th : This morning the brother of one of our assistant Christian visitors here brought his three gods, and other objects of worship, which he believed and confided in till a short time ago. He long opposed and persecuted his brother, and assisted

when, some time ago, the family had him tied to a tree, and unmercifully beat him for becoming a Christian. Now he himself rejects the gods he so long defended and adored, and believes in the God, Who, he said, was for the white man only ; loves his brother and other believers whom he formerly persecuted,



IDOLS GIVEN UP.

and himself asks to be received as a candidate for baptism. What a change hath God wrought ! This is the tenth person I had the privilege to receive as candidate for baptism during the last six weeks.

“December 6th, Lord’s Day : A day of special solemnity, praise, and blessing. After prayers, I had

the privilege to receive by baptism twenty of our candidates, viz., three men and seventeen women, into Christ's visible Church. They have been for several years instructed, and have long looked forward to this day publicly to confess their faith in Christ Jesus, and to be 'signed,' as they call it, 'for the Lord.'"

CHAPTER XIII.

BRANCHING OUT.

DURING December 1857 Mr. and Mrs. Gollmer were compelled to pay a hurried visit to Lagos, owing to a domestic trouble. Their infant had been taken on horseback by one of the European catechists, who accidentally let him fall, and the child sustained severe injuries to his arm. In God's providence, there was an English doctor on a small man-of-war steamer in the Lagos river, and he kindly attended to the child, and set the dislocated arm. It was afterwards ascertained that the collar bone was broken, but had re-set itself. They were detained for about three weeks at Lagos, during which time they were the guests of Mr. Bülher, who showed them great kindness and attention.

With reference to these circumstances Mr. Gollmer writes, "January 15th, 1858: 'Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.' This is especially a missionary experience, for no missionary is without trials, and no one without joys. With a sorrowing heart I hastened with my family to Lagos last month to seek medical aid for my child, who suffered from a fractured collar-bone and dislocation

of the right shoulder through a fall. The Lord was again good to us. He provided the needful aid, blessed the means used, restored our child to health, and permitted us to return home to-day with a rejoicing heart; and to fill the measure of our joy, our people gave us a most hearty reception, many men and women and children coming to meet us at a distance of more than four to five miles."

The following extracts from Mr. Gollmer's journals give an account of the work during part of 1858.

"January 27th: 'Branch out' is our watchword. Mr. J. Smith having been somewhat initiated into the work during the last ten months he has laboured with us at Abeokuta, I went with him to-day to Ishaga to introduce him to the chief and people, and to locate him in a new sphere of labour there. We left home early this morning, and after a three hours' ride arrived at Ibara, my first out-station."

Here they had an interview with the king and elders, and asked them a few plain questions, such as "What sort of a man is our Scripture-reader? does he trouble any of you? etc. If, as you say, he is a good man and teaches God's Word, why do you not hear him? Do you not want him? God says, if they do not receive you in one place, go to another, etc. Think on these things," Mr. Gollmer said, "and six days hence on my return you will please give me an answer, viz., whether you will keep your teacher and hear and obey God's Word, or whether we must remove him to another town;" to which all agreed. Mr. Gollmer continues: "We proceeded, and after another three

hours' ride, mostly through high and rank grass, we arrived at Ishaga towards evening, and were glad to find a mission-house and home here, humble as it is.

"January 28th : The king, with twelve of the chiefs or elders of the town, came to visit us this morning. I was saluted as an old friend, they remembering my having passed through the town twelve years ago. We had a long conversation ; questions similar to those put at Ibara elicited the best of testimony from the king and elders as regards the character of the Society's agent here. I thanked them for their kindness to our Scripture-reader and our few converts, allowing them quietly to serve their God, and for granting them protection. Mr. Smith was then introduced, and, after consultation, the king and chiefs agreed to permit him to settle down among them, and also promised a piece of land to build a house for the service of God, and to assist in its erection.

"January 30th : Ten candidates, recommended to me by our Scripture-reader for baptism, I closely examined for two hours this evening, and was much pleased with them, and silently thanked God for having blessed the humble endeavours of His servant at this place.

"January 31st, Lord's Day : We had a solemn and joyful Sabbath to-day. From want of a better place our services and Sunday-schools were held in the front piazza of the mission-house.

"After morning prayers I baptized and signed (as our converts call it) the ten adults examined yesterday. Deep emotion pervaded all our little congregation

during the solemn service. After evening prayers I baptized eight children of our converts, thus gathering in the 'firstfruit' of the gospel, both parents and children, and laying, I trust, a good foundation-stone of Christ's spiritual Church here. Comparing this place with what it was, and my feelings now with what they were twelve years ago, when I passed through this place, I must exclaim, 'What has God wrought?'

"February 1st: The few converts here are anxious to do as their elder brethren at Abeokuta, viz., form an 'Iwasimi,' 'place of rest,' a little separate from their heathen neighbours. This morning I obtained from one of our neighbours a promise of the desired piece of land, close to the mission-house, for that purpose. Having so far attended to this promising out-station, I commended Mr. Smith and this infant Church to the care and protection of our Heavenly Father, and left for Ibara, arriving at home the same evening.

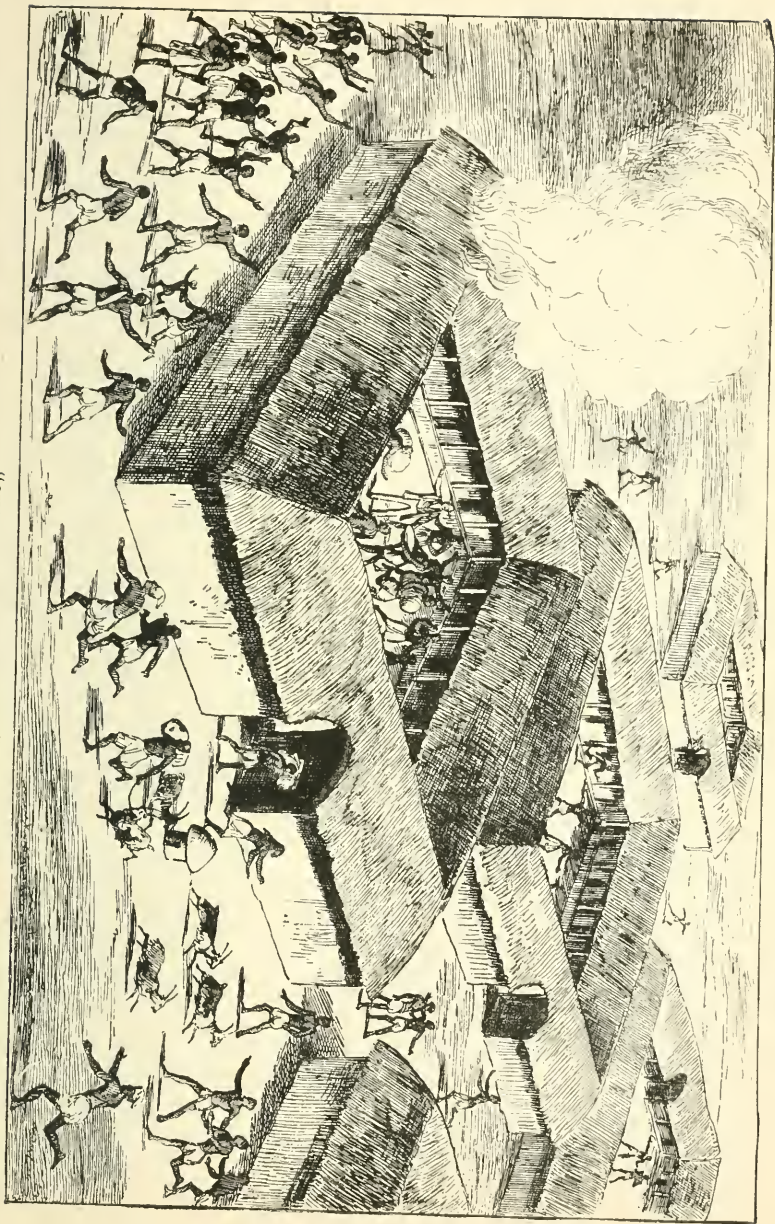
"July 26th: Our Scripture-reader at Ibara informed me that, according to my instructions, he has visited about ten different small towns, hamlets, and farms, between Ibara and the river Ogun, that the farm people especially gladly heard the Word of God, and begged him to come again.

"September 1st: Incendiarism is one of the dreadful modes of revenge in this country, though happily seldom resorted to. A few months ago the house of one of our neighbours was thus maliciously set fire to, and burnt three or four other compounds with it. Our danger was great, but God watched over and preserved

us. This evening a glaring flash of lightning, immediately followed by a fearful crash of thunder, passed over our house, and struck the compound next to us but one. In spite of heavy rain, the flames soon burst forth, which, as usual, summoned the worshippers of Shango (the god of thunder and lightning) to the place, not to sympathise and help, but to plunder everything they could lay hands upon in and around the burning house, under pretence of being a lawful prize from their god. The fire might have been extinguished, and some of our church people went to do it, but were prevented by the infatuated crowd, who said it was holy fire, and must not be interfered with. ♡ One hundred of these poor deluded fanatics kept on singing and dancing around the house, till the fire ceased from want of fuel, and with every flash of lightning the immense number of people raised a solemn shout in praise of their god. These are hours of great danger and anxiety, but ever we experience the faithfulness of Him who said, 'I will be with you.'

"September 6th : A happy Yoruba missionary meeting. According to notice we assembled at our church this evening ; most of our congregation, both old and young, were present. After singing and prayer I briefly addressed the meeting, explaining that the Lord's command, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,' is not only for ministers and missionaries, but was given to fishermen, traders, farmers, and all followers of Christ ; but because all cannot go, some were chosen and sent ; so, said I, the followers of Jesus, the Church of Christ in our

"SHANGO, SHANGO, SHANGO!"



country, send us to you; you are now followers of Christ, and the command is for you also. Our senior Scripture-reader rose and spoke of our rights and privileges as Christians, and warmly recommended our proposal to choose one from among their number, and send him in the name of the Lord to preach Jesus to the heathen of the towns around us, and to make a collection for his support. The many cheerful and smiling countenances showed that they approved of the subject, and to help them to give vent to their pent-up feelings I said, 'Who agrees with the proposal? Show it by lifting up the right hand.' In a moment every hand went up with cheering."

Ultimately a worthy member of the church, named Laye, was chosen as their missionary.

✓ Mr. Gollmer continues: "The meeting was now called upon to make a collection to raise a fund for the support of the newly chosen Scripture-reader; for this purpose the names of both communicants and candidates for baptism, male and female, were called, and each said how much he or she would give, which was noted down."

"Our schoolchildren were asked whether they wished to have a hand in this good work, when they entered on the business in a spirit worthy of an adult, and one after the other promised a contribution. And now an animated and cheering scene ensued: the mothers wishing their infants on their backs, and other absent children, to have a share in it also, called out one after the other, 'Put down a penny for my child,' 'Twopence for my two children,' 'Sixpence for my three children,'

Child 12. 11. 12
Coke 12. 11. 12

etc., so that the share of the children and infants in this good work is considerable. All our people, I may say, gave cheerfully and liberally according to their means; and it was very encouraging to find that the amount raised was not only sufficient for the support of the Scripture-reader for one year, but sufficient for two years.

“September 21st: A——, our Scripture-reader, returned from his round of twelve towns lately visited by me. Our Scripture-reader at Ibara was out revisiting ten towns in another direction, and proceeds to-day to take a turn in re-visiting the round of the above-named twelve towns. I am anxious each town should be visited at least once a month. Our Scripture-reader at Ilaro is visiting a number of towns in that direction, so that we have at present three different districts, with about thirty towns to visit. It is my duty and pleasure to state that our Scripture-readers prove effectual helps in disseminating the gospel.

CHAPTER XIV.

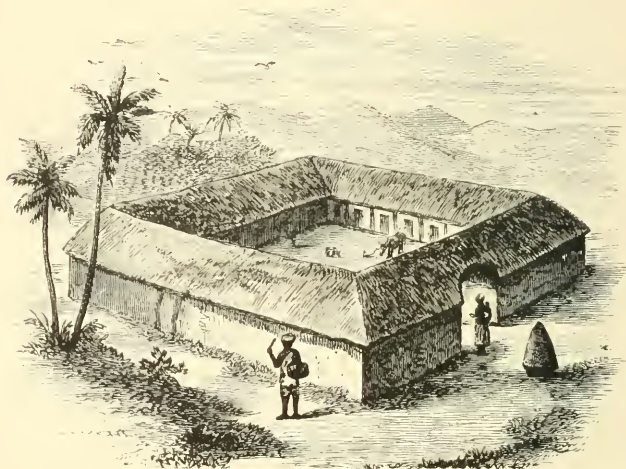
ABEOKUTA A CENTRE FOR WORK.

AT the commencement of the year 1859 work was being carried on by the Church Missionary Society's agents at four different stations in Abeokuta, viz., Ake, Igbein, Ikija, and Owu. Throughout the dense mass of population, missionary work had been diligently pressed forward from these various centres. As a specimen of these labours, we find the following *résumé* in the journal of Mr. Gollmer for the half-year ending March 25th:—

“During the last three months I have long cherished a desire to be able to visit from house to house, and to preach Christ to those also who are still far off, and to urge them to come nigh. This, by the blessing of God, I was enabled to accomplish, at least in a degree. During seventeen days I spent from four to five hours daily; visited eighty different compounds and houses; and spoke to upwards of five hundred people, high and low, bond and free, many of whom listened with marked attention to the Word of God. May the seed thus sown bring fruit in due season! Opportunities to preach the gospel presented themselves during my visits which I could not have had other-

wise. In one house I met a member of the family, sick or otherwise afflicted, which rendered them a little soft to listen to the consolation of God's Word.

"In another house I met the family, with many of their relatives assembled, mourning over one of their deceased members; and the three questions,



A YORUBA COMPOUND.

Why do we die? Where do we go after death? Who can save us? appeared an appropriate text for a funeral sermon, which was listened to with great attention. In a third place I met a company of twelve women, engaged in worshipping their idols, which led me to speak to them of the first and second commandments, and that God is a Spirit, and we must worship Him

in spirit and in truth. I can say I had free access everywhere, and was received not only with politeness, but often with gladness. This is a most desirable, but arduous work. I experience that our heart is willing, but our flesh is weak. However, what we—often suffering Europeans—cannot accomplish to our hearts' desire, our native agents help to make good."

But it is not only within the limits of Abeokuta, but to other towns and villages, gospel labour had been extended. The following is a brief sketch of one of these missionary tours, carried out by Mr. Gollmer and the Scripture-readers.

On February 4th he left for Ishaga, passing through the village of Ibara, distant from Abeokuta about nine miles, and surrounded, according to the custom of the country, by a wall and a ditch. Advancing through a well-watered and productive country, the travellers reached Ishaga, where, by the blessing of God upon the efforts of a native Scripture-reader, an infant congregation had been raised up, and the piazza, where the services and the Sunday-schools were, in the first instance, held, becoming too small, the erection of a suitable place of worship became necessary. On the occasion of this visit it had been so far completed as to enable Mr. Gollmer to open and dedicate it to the glory of God. The text selected was 2 Chron. vi. 40, and the Lord's Supper was subsequently administered to twenty-three communicants.

Leaving Ishaga on the Wednesday morning, the missionary party proceeded through farms and grass fields in a northerly direction for two hours, until a

small town called Ilewo was reached, where they were kindly received, and for the first time the gospel message was delivered, in the houses and streets, to the chiefs, elders, and people. Many listened attentively to the heavenly message. The early hours of the succeeding day having been similarly occupied, travelling was resumed in a north-easterly direction, through farms and grass fields, to Ijale, where a hearty welcome greeted them from the chief, a fine, tall man of a cheerful countenance. The elders and people soon crowded around them, eager to hear what the white man had come for, and a happy opportunity was afforded to speak about the things which pertain to salvation.

During that evening, and the early hours of the next morning, the whole place was traversed, and numbers heard the gospel message for the first time. A town called Kesan was next reached; this, with the two previously mentioned, Ilewo and Ijale, belonged to the Egbado family, but, for protection's sake, all of them paid homage and tribute to one or other of the war chiefs of Abeokuta. In the markets and streets of this town the message of mercy was delivered to all who would listen; and then, after a long and hot four hours' ride in an easterly direction, and mostly through cultivated land, our travellers reached Ibara.

The following is a graphic sketch of the proclamation of God's truth to the inhabitants of this heathen town:—

“February 13th, Lord's Day: Early this morning the chief came to salute me, and to express his satis-

faction with regard to my stopping and sleeping in his town a little. Due notice was given to the chief, elders, and people yesterday afternoon that two public services would be held to-day in the market, under a tree, and all were invited. At the usual time the hand-bell sounded through the streets of the town to call to service. The chief was not present, but most of the elders sat in the piazza of their council-house close by, whilst a number of people encircled us on the other side. After singing a few verses of a Yoruba hymn, I read some of our prayers, including the Litany, and then addressed the assembly from John iii. 16, endeavouring to show them how God loves them and all men, etc. One of my Scripture-readers repeated what I had said, and two others spoke to the people from John iii. 3 and iv. 23. The evening service was better attended, and the audience more quiet and attentive; there were about three hundred people standing and sitting around us. After singing, I read some of our prayers, also the Ten Commandments, and spoke from 2 Cor. vi. 12. I told them that they had had a Scripture-reader for four years, and that scarcely anyone believed the Word of God, and begged and entreated them not to receive the grace of God in vain; impressing upon them that now is the time to be accepted with God and be saved."

After having received from the king a piece of land for a future station, the missionary party left Ibara, and proceeding in a south-easterly direction, mostly through farms, arrived at Idiore, the small town forming a kind of centre to many small hamlets and farms

around it. These hamlets were severally visited, and, as circumstances permitted, little congregations gathered for instruction. Thus farm, village, and town were visited, in each place the missionary and his native helpers taking different portions of the population, and thus searching out the people in every street and lane, until the time came when it became necessary to turn their steps homeward. Travelling northward through farms, they reached the market-place of the farm hamlet Awowo, on the main road to Lagos. "Finding many people," writes Mr. Gollmer, "I at once resolved to halt, and embrace the opportunity to speak to them, which, I am thankful to say, proved seasonable and welcome. It was pleasant to see our Scripture-readers standing up, one here and another there, talking to groups of people. No sooner had I opened my mouth to speak than I had a nice little congregation. From one elderly female, with many signs about her, which showed that she was a zealous worshipper of gods many and lords many, I apprehended strong opposition, but she proved the most attentive of all; so much so that she did not care to sell anything, or take money for what she had sold, while I was speaking; and when I had finished, she declared, with apparent sincerity, that from that day she would serve God alone, thanking us much for what we had said. This was more refreshing to my soul than cold water to the thirsty and weary traveller."

Proceeding from thence in the direction of the north, and crossing rivers, our travellers reached Awoyade, nine miles from Abeokuta, where they took possession

of an old and tottering house, open on all sides, and during the evening went about the town inviting sinners to return to God. They then proceeded home to Ikija.

This missionary tour issued in one happy result—a determination on the part of Mr. Gollmer's congregation to engage in direct missionary labour.

“March 7th: Deeply impressed with the vastness of the field and the fewness of labourers, on my return from my missionary tour I preached to my congregation from Matt. ix. 35-38; and after speaking of our duty as Christians, viz., to pray the Lord to send more labourers, I asked, Is there not one, or two, or three among you who will rise and say, Here am I; send me? After some days, I called my native agents, and consulted them as to the fitness of three of our communicants, whom I considered suitable for the work, and was glad to find they agreed with me on the subject. I now asked them to speak to the three men, explain the matter, and then tell them to think and pray over it, and when they had decided to bring me word. This morning my four native agents came with the three communicants. We had a long conversation, and spoke of the many immortal souls perishing for the lack of the knowledge of the Lord, and our duty and privilege to help in this good work, etc. A few unimportant questions of a domestic character being disposed of, one after the other said, ‘The Lord has done great things for me; I have obtained much grace, and I am willing to do the work with all my heart.’ Our native agents added a few encouraging words,

and I commended the three brethren and new fellow-labourers to our faithful God and Father, and implored a blessing on their behalf. I am truly thankful for this additional aid. I have now six members of my church here, native Christians, employed as Scripture-readers in the service of the Lord."



OTHER WORKERS, AND MISSION HOUSE BUILT BY MR. GOLLMER (p. 70).

CHAPTER XV.

MISSIONARY JOURNEYS.

SEVERAL extensive missionary tours were made at this time by the missionaries,* Messrs. Townsend, Hinderer, and Gollmer, in different directions throughout the Yoruba country. Mr. Hinderer travelled in the Ijesha country; Mr. Townsend visited Ilorin and other towns; while Mr. Gollmer visited Ketu, to the west of Abeokuta. He writes thus:—

“You will be glad to hear that, by the goodness of our heavenly Father, I have, to-day a week, safely returned from my missionary tour in the Ketu country, and that we have had a most successful journey, being not only well received by the king, chiefs, elders, and people at Ketu and the various towns we passed through, but find everywhere many attentive hearers of God’s Word. The Lord has done great things for us, whereof we are glad. In the name of the Lord we have taken possession of the province of Ketu,

* The following is a description of the illustration on p. 144:—
Back Row (Left to Right), Revs. A. Mann, J. A. Maser, W. Hechler
C. Haeberle, J. B. Wood, L. Nicholson. *Front Row*, Mrs. Mann
Mrs. Maser, Rev. H. Townsend, Mrs. Townsend, Mrs. Nicholson.

numbering about one hundred towns, and proclaimed our King Jesus before the Alaketu (the king), the princes, and the people, and the response was unanimous and hearty, 'We receive you,' 'Come over and help us.' The field is white for the harvest, but where are the labourers? This important field, which should be occupied without delay, we desire to lay on the heart of the Committee, and to commend it to their best consideration and prayer. Two European brethren, one at least somewhat experienced, should be sent to the capital Ketu, with a staff of native agents, for the work is great. We were absent about a month (July 29th to August 26th). By the help and strength of the Lord we were enabled to travel one hundred and eighty miles there and back, to visit twenty-three towns, and to preach and speak many times to many people. Our little missionary-force consisted this time of eight Scripture-readers, Mr. Smith, and myself. The Alaketu was very friendly and intimate with us. He has now been, so to say, sixteen months probationary king, according to custom, and in six months more he will be crowned, and have full power. I am happy to add his government is not hampered, as at other places, by either the Oboni system (secret society), or by the government superstition, Oro, etc., which is of great importance. It seems to us most providential that this man has been placed on the throne of Ketu.

"We spent ten days at Ketu, and the king and people, as well as ourselves, felt sorry we could not remain longer. Meko is the next town in size and importance in the Ketu country. It is about twenty-

five miles north-east from Ketu towards Abeokuta ; that route led us through the heart of Ketu also. We



A YORUBA POSTMAN.

had to pass by many towns on our right and left on the road. Finding that Meko was a large and important town, and that many people willingly listened to the

Word of God, we were glad when the chief Olumeko begged us to remain and witness his coronation. Saturday and the Lord's Day approaching, we decided to remain. Thousands gladly heard the gospel for the first time, no messenger of peace or any other white men having ever reached this place. The chief also became very friendly, and begged earnestly to send for some one to sit down with them.

"At Ketu and Meko I met with respectable men who knew me at Badagry, which was not without advantage."

The following details of this important journey may be of interest. Mr. Gollmer and five Scripture-readers left Ikija on July 29th, and through heavy rains made their way to Ibara. Having remained here some hours, they arrived at Ishaga the next day, and were welcomed by Mr. Smith, the schoolmaster and Scripture-reader.

"July 31st, Lord's Day: Mr. Gollmer was visited by one of the chiefs, and informed of the death of one of the elders; he was also told that the elder would be buried that day, and that Oro (the often-mentioned Government superstition) would take the town according to custom, etc."

Mr. Gollmer writes: "We reminded them that to-day is the Lord's Day, and urged them to use their influence to prevent the sad occurrence to-day, and suggested to postpone the ceremonies till the next day. We begged them to fear God, and to regard His Word and His day.

"The chief replied that if it was an ordinary case

they might postpone it as on former occasions, but death comes without regard to persons and days: he could not promise, but suggested to send to the king. The hour for Sunday-school and church approaching, which none of our female Christians could attend if the Oro drum should sound previously (all women being shut up in their houses), we lost no time in sending messengers to the king, representing that this is God's day, to be kept holy, and begging him not to offend God by making Oro come out to-day, and by disturbing the services of the Lord. The king was perplexed, and replied much in the manner of the chief: on the one hand there was a day of feasting at the house of the deceased awaiting him and his numerous brother Obonis, which could only be enjoyed under the protective Oro; on the other hand he did not wish to offend us; and in this dilemma, or rather because 'the king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water; He turneth it whithersoever he will,' the king gave this remarkable decision, viz., that 'as they must do their duty, and must not stop us from doing ours, the town must divide in two parts. Oro must take the lower town (where the king, elders, and many people reside, and where the deceased used to live), and we and our church people must take the upper part of the town (where the mission-house and church were, and where most of the converts resided), and he added that 'Oro should not come up to molest us; and our women must not go down to be seen by any of the men, etc.; as it were, 'We will worship Baal, and you worship the living.

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God.' This is an unprecedented concession of the authorities and supporters of Oro. Nevertheless, the decision met with general approval, and was forthwith acted upon. I need not say we and our people rejoiced over this great triumph of the Gospel, and praised the Lord. Well may we say, 'What hath God wrought'!

"August 1st: Left Ishaga about 9 A.M. Being anxious to visit as many towns as possible on our tour, and being informed that there is less water in the southern road than the northern, I decided to take the former in going, and return by the latter."

Accordingly they proceeded west by south, and two hours' travelling over an undulated country of beautiful scenery brought them to Iboro, where they rested a short time, and had several opportunities of proclaiming the truth. Journeying on through Masayi, Shompa, Igbogila, Ijuwa (the frontier town of Ketu), and several smaller towns, sowing the seed as they went, they arrived at the capital August 8th. Being accompanied by the king's messengers, who had come to meet them on the way, they obtained easy access to the town, through the multitude of people.

✧ August 9th Mr. Gollmer writes: "At noon a set of five drummers ushered in a party of courtiers and servants with the king's presents, viz., a bullock, three baskets of eko (Indian-corn pudding), two calabashes of country beer, about seven and sixpence worth of cowries, some milk and bananas, which according to the custom of the country we thankfully received. Feeling better in the afternoon, we went to pay our respects to the king. The chiefs and elders, and the

king's confidential attendants who were also present, prostrated themselves before him and went through the usual ceremonies of salutation. The king then called us and made us sit near him, and shook us most friendly by the hand, saying he was very glad to see us, etc. After the usual inquiries connected with the salutation, such as, 'Is it peace?' 'Are you well?' 'Is your house well?' etc., I began to explain to the king who we were, and what was the object of our visit; when he (the king) desired one of our Scripture-readers to stand up outside and talk loud, so that all the people could hear. I then said we were messengers of God, sent to make known His Word of peace; and, to explain this, I directed their attention to the 23rd Psalm, showing how the great king David received and believed the word, put his whole trust in God, and felt happy in so doing, urging them to do likewise. The king and all appeared attentive, and pleased with what was said.

"Having said as much as I deemed right to say at this official interview, I asked the king's permission to visit the chiefs and elders in their houses, to become acquainted with them; also to allow us and our Scripture-readers to go about the town to speak God's Word to the people, that all might hear. Both requests were readily granted.

"August 10th: Visitors came early this morning. After breakfast our Scripture-readers went out into the streets and lanes to urge them to come into the Father's house, as all things were ready. Mr. Smith and I went to visit the six chiefs and elders, and

were most friendly received by all of them. At the house of the first I had a quiet and patient hearing of God's Word for nearly two hours. The chief and about fifty people listened well.

"August 12th: After a fortnight's absence from home (Ikija) a special messenger from Abeokuta arrived this morning with good news from my family, which cheered and encouraged me in my work, showing that we may indeed trust our heavenly Father at all times, and under all circumstances of life. Whilst at breakfast, twenty of the king's wives were introduced: they came to salute and welcome us. I spoke to them from Psalm cxxviii., and I gave them a little present.* On our journey to Ketu, four of the king's wives saluted us at Ijale, and three at Dobolo. To-day I enquired how many there were altogether; one of the king's confidential attendants informed me that they may be about two hundred, old and young,—that is, the wives of former kings included, who retain the name and remain attached to the court till they die.

"In the afternoon, according to appointment, we visited the king to-day, and had a two hours' private interview in one of the interior courts. The king received us most friendly, and, taking our seats near him, he asked who should speak first, he or we. Of course we gave honour to whom honour is due, and requested him to speak, when he entreated us to help him—

"I. That he and his people may have peace in his town and country.

* See Appendix, page 207.

“2. That he may not see sudden death at his place.

“3. That he may not have fire in the town (Ketu having been again and again destroyed by fire).

“4. That he may not see war, either from Dahomey or Abeokuta.

“5. That he may soon ascend his throne, and have full power; and that he hoped we would assist him to get the necessary things suitable for a king, such as a crown, whether of gold, silver, or otherwise, etc.

“6. That he may be able to open the road to the river Opara, to facilitate commerce seaward.

“7. The king said he would order the gongon, or bell, to be rung that all the farmers must plant cotton, and merchants may come to buy it.

“When the king had concluded, I proceeded to reply to the different subjects as I was best able to do, and the king appeared satisfied.

“August 14th: With the king's permission we held a service in his courtyard. We commenced by singing a Yoruba hymn; I then read some of the prayers, with the Litany, and spoke from the words of the great supper now ready, to which all are invited, showing the great provision God has made in the salvation through Christ, of which He wills that all should partake.

“After service we saluted the king, who thanked us for our work to make the world good again.

“August 15th: This morning we went to the king's residence by appointment, and had another three hours' confidential interview with him. With a view to ascertain the mind of the king as regards our work, and to

get something like a decided expression, I prepared a few questions, which were fully explained, and to which the king kindly gave answers.

“1. ‘Does the king wish for missionaries?’ Reply : ‘It will be sweet to me and all my people.’

“2. ‘Will the king protect the missionaries?’ ‘White man cannot live in my town without my taking care of him.’

“3. ‘Will the king permit the missionaries freely to preach God’s Word?’ ‘There is nothing to prevent it.’

“4. ‘Will the king protect from persecution any one who may believe God’s Word?’ ‘There is no one else who can do it.’

“5. ‘Will the king permit that Mr. Smith or I may come at any time hereafter, say in five or six months, and remain two or three weeks?’ ‘It will please me but six months is too far away.’”

CHAPTER XVI.

HEATHEN OPPOSITION.

THE missionary party left Ketu August 17th, and after two hours' journey through farms, grass-fields, and brushwood, they arrived at Meko a little before dark.

Mr. Gollmer thus describes his reception: "Two hours' journey brought us to a large valley of most beautiful scenery—hills here and there, covered with nice green grass of different shades, the slopes studded with farms and a variety of trees, with lofty palm and palmyra trees interspersed, the town Idofa imbedded in a large plot of forest on the opposite side, and the river Iyewa, wrapped in a luxuriant green vesture of under-wood, quietly flowing through the midst of the scene. We arrived at Meko before dark. On passing through the town, towards the market and the chief's house, a dark cloud gathered over our heads for a moment. The Alaketu's confidential messenger, equipped with hat and staff, sent by the king to escort us, had not come up with us, being detained at Ketu. One or two men of no consequence stopped our progress, and demanded to know by whose authority we walked thus right into their town, shouting, no white man had ever

been here, and they do not want any, and telling us to go back to Idofa and sleep there, etc. An immense concourse of people gathered in a moment, and stood around us, one crying this and another that. The scene forcibly reminded me of my troubles at Okeodan in 1846. The king's second messenger in vain declared that the Alaketu sent him : the people said he was not an ilari, and would not believe him, and nearly maltreated him as an impostor. To settle the dispute I raised my voice as loud as I could, and said, 'We are men of peace ; peace we bring and not strife : if you cannot receive us in peace, we will depart ' ; and told our people to take their luggage and follow me outside the wall to sleep. The great noise attracted the notice of a neighbour, who came to see what was the matter. He came up whilst I was speaking, and recognizing me, he shouted, 'Give way ; this is the Alapako—I know him from Badagry ; give way !' He walked up to me and said, 'Do not mind them ; if they will not receive you, I will ; come to my house ;' making way, and leading us through the thousands surrounding us to his house close by, and no one dared to say another word. Seeing these thousands of immortal souls, our hearts yearned to preach Jesus to them, and the thought of being turned out was most distressing to us ; but the Lord heard our cry, and said, 'Peace, be still,' and the storm ceased, for which we thanked Him much, as we settled down in our humble abode.

"August 18th : People came early to visit us. Before eight I addressed a mixed assembly in our house from



A NATIVE OF YORUBA WITH HIS CHARMS.

the one hundred and forty-fifth Psalm. After morning prayer twenty young Mohammedans came, saying,

‘Master, we have heard what thy disciples say outside (our Scripture-readers in the streets), and we are come to hear thee.’ I silently cried to the Lord for a suitable word for these self-righteous people. I expounded the first Psalm, and showed, by what we know, the righteous and the wicked man, and what their end will be. The Mohammedans and others who joined listened quietly and attentively for a long time. Whilst taking our breakfast, one of the chiefs and five of the elders, with other people, came to salute us in the name of the Olumeko (king or head chief) and others. No sooner had they left than a fourth party, a number of respectable females, came to salute us. I explained to them the first and second commandments ; in other words, preaching to them that the Lord is God, and Him we must serve, and no other. Though I said not a word about casting away their idols, they themselves drew the inference. At noon we went to visit the chiefs and elders.

“After the usual salutations, I explained our character and our message, and spoke from the one hundred and twenty-fifth Psalm, to which the authorities, and the many people sitting around, paid attention. The chief, hearing that we intended leaving to-morrow, said, ‘I wish you would remain to-morrow and witness my installation to office,’ etc. Seeing what an important place this is, and how many people there are willing to hear God’s Word, we had already decided to remain, and were therefore glad the chief asked us to do so. We congratulated the chief on his expected elevation, and from the example of Solomon begged

him to ask of God wisdom to govern his people righteously. He replied, 'Wisdom I ask'; and added, that 'if the Alaketu gets his white man, he wants one for his town also,' etc.

"August 21st, Lord's Day: Thinking that the chief must be still much engaged with his people on account of his recent elevation, and that perhaps we could get a larger congregation in the market, I did not propose to have service in the king's yard as at Ketu; but the chief sent a messenger this morning to say that he would be glad to receive this blessing, *i.e.*, to have service in his yard; so I promised to keep evening service there, whilst Mr. Smith went to preach in the market. At four a messenger came to say the chief was ready waiting. Leaving most of our people to strengthen the hands of Mr. Smith in the market, I took only a few of our band to join me, and to sustain the singing and responses. We met the king on his accustomed seat, with some of the elders. We sang a Yoruba hymn as usual. I then read some of the prayers, with the Ten Commandments, and spoke from the parable of the prodigal son, showing our sinful conduct towards God, and our Heavenly Father's compassion, love, and mercy towards us sinners. During service a good many people came, so that there may have been about two hundred and fifty persons present. At seven this evening the chief came to pay us a parting visit: he remained for an hour. He again repeated his request to send some one to sit down with them and instruct them. Our landlord, a superior and intelligent man (who gave me the names of ninety-four towns

belonging to the Ketu province), was very kind to us during our visit here and stay at his house ; he was generally with us when addressing the people, and frequently attended our family prayers, and expressed himself as one not far from the kingdom of God.

“August 22nd: Eight hours in the saddle—a hard day’s journey—which I felt much ; but there was no alternative, as all the towns between Meko and Shala had been destroyed by slave wars.

“August 23rd: Thinking to make good use of our short visit, we agreed to have an evening service in the market under the tree, where we preached last year. At first there were but few persons present, but our singing soon called others. I spoke from 2 Cor. vi. 2, urging the people to come to God to-day, and not delay till to-morrow, when it may be too late, alluding to a person who suddenly died in the farm last evening. Mr. Smith spoke next from the words, ‘Seek ye the Lord while He may be found.’ Before he had finished, part of the assembly shouted in a suppressed voice and left, while others came ; the low shouting was repeated, and caused a little disturbance, for which we could not account. Presently I heard drummers, at a distance apparently, making towards us. Thinking it was a funeral procession of a person who had died yesterday passing by, and with a view to keep our congregation together, I rose, asked Mr. Smith to stop, and gave out a Yoruba hymn to sing ; but, behold, it was the devil in human form. Four men, armed with switches, broke our circle of people, and in came a female, quite frantic, dancing, in African

style, with all her might, up and down before us, raising up and down the huge image of Shango (god of thunder and lightning) in her hands, and making all sorts of strange gestures; her eye was full of fire, and her mind and person appeared to be wrought upon by some supernatural influence; her person was gaudily



THE PREACHER INTERRUPTED.

attired, or rather she had a number of long strips of red, yellow, and other gay-coloured European cotton cloths wound and tied round her waist, with the ends flowing. The devil, through these poor, ignorant, and alas! too willing and ready agents, sought to frighten, defeat, and overthrow us: but the Lord was with us.

In His strength we stood firm, and sang the praises of our God, taking no notice of what was going on before us.

“After a little while the female danced away, preceded by her guard of switchmen, and followed by her set of three drummers. There was an immense concourse of people, some of whom gave vent to the apparent defeat of the Shango devotee by laughing; but she quickly returned, and sought to make it good by dancing, if possible, more furiously up and down before us. Presently she danced off in another direction and returned again, and we continued to sing all the while, repeating our hymn. A head man sitting close by us was requested by one of our Scripture-readers to send a messenger to prevent the female returning, which he did. The devil, instead of dispersing us and our people, brought many hearers; our congregation had greatly increased, and, silence being restored, D——, our Scripture-reader of the same tribe, forcibly addressed the large assembly, which was approved by a loud Amen. Thus the Lord gave us victory. We praise His name for giving us grace to be calm, firm, and able to bear all. We were still looking to the Lord, and saw His salvation. The chief immediately sent messengers to apologize, and to beg us not to be angry on account of what took place in the market, saying the town, with all the people, and all their animals, are ours, etc. I sent a message to say they need not fear; we are not angry; we know the enmity and opposition of the devil to us and our good work.”

Leaving Shala August 24th, the missionary party

proceeded through Ishaga and Ibara, and reached Ikija on the 26th.

September 30th, Mr. Gollmer writes: "To-day we experienced again the truth of God's word, 'Call upon Me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee.' God has blessed us with the gift of another son, and given the necessary strength and wisdom in the hour of our great need."

CHAPTER XVII.

FURTHER PROGRESS.

I N the midst of the many and various duties in which the missionaries were engaged, translational work was not neglected. So far back as 1844 Mr. Gollmer had endeavoured to take his share in this work, and later on, among other things, he translated Dr. Barth's "Bible Stories," and "The Sinner's Friend."

Under date January 20th, 1860, Mr. Gollmer refers to the arrival and distribution of some of these books: "Distribution of three thousand copies of 'The Sinner's Friend' in Yoruba. By the kind permission of the Tract Society, I translated 'The Sinner's Friend' into Yoruba the year before last, and, in accordance with a promise, it was printed by that Society for the benefit of our native Christians. Last week a box containing five thousand copies of this little book arrived here, and to-day I had the pleasure to share the greater portion of them among my missionary brethren, European and native, for distribution among their respective flocks. I also sent three hundred copies to the native minister of the Wesleyan Chapel here, and two hundred copies to the Baptist missionaries in the

interior. May the Lord's blessing accompany each copy."

And later on he writes: "Arrival of Yoruba books. In March 1858, with the assistance of my schoolmaster, I completed the translation of Dr. Barth's 'Bible Stories' into the Yoruba language, but the manuscript was lost with the steamer *Candace*. A new copy was made and sent, which Dr. Barth had printed at Stuttgart, at the expense of the Publication Society of Calo; and now the first box of four hundred copies has safely reached me. Our native agents, servants, and children, whom I presented with copies, were quite delighted with the new book, and some of the children leaped for joy; the pictures much attract both young and old. Upwards of one hundred copies I sent to our various stations, including the Wesleyan and Baptist missions, to our European and native brethren and fellow-labourers in the work of the Lord. The news of the arrival of this wonderful book soon got abroad, and one after the other of our converts came, and gladly paid eightpence for a copy."

The progress of the work in the Yoruba mission during this year (1860) was greatly impeded by the scourge of war, which proved a most serious interruption to the preaching of the gospel, and to the facilities for intercommunication between the various towns comprised within the range of this important field of missionary labour.

Mr. Gollmer writes, February 20th: "Our station being close to the north gate, upon which Dahomey was expected to direct his attack this time, and where

in consequence a large camp was formed, we of necessity had a large share of the noise attending an African army preparing for self-defence ; the gongon, drum, horn, and fife sounded, with but little intermission, day and night. Early this morning a report that Dahomey was seen on the other side of the river, and not far off, got into the town, and thousands of armed men hastened past our house to the scene of action.

“ February 21st : I and my children are still suffering more or less, and Mrs. Gollmer is reduced in health and strength from over-exertion and sleepless nights, so that we are anything but in a position either to defend ourselves or to flee ; but, thanks be to God, I and my dear wife were calm and without the least fear or alarm about the war. We commended ourselves to the care and keeping of our good God, the keeper of Israel, and felt sure all will be well ; so we had peace in the midst of war and rumours of war.

“ February 26th, Lord's Day : Our seven Scripture-readers went to the camp behind the wall, close to our place, and spent several hours this morning in speaking the words of God to many different parties, who otherwise might not have heard of the glad tidings.

“ March 3rd : The chiefs having ascertained, through messengers from Ketu and others, that Dahomey had destroyed a small Ketu town and had returned homewards, the three encampments were broken up by the chiefs and people, and they returned home after a resolute watch for ten days and nights.

“ March 8th : Instead of the usual Thursday evening services, we had prayer-meetings the last few weeks,

on account of the war, and to-day we returned thanks to God for His gracious deliverance.

"March 10th: For some time past we feared we should have to leave the country on account of my broken health and strength, my deafness, the long illness of our children, and Mrs. Gollmer's great debility, etc.; but God was gracious to us, and heard our cry, and so far restored us that we may hope to labour a little longer in His service here, for which we praise His name.

"May 6th, Lord's Day: During the last few months several mothers have been drawn to the Church by their believing daughters. This morning, in the Sunday-school, I had the pleasure of meeting two more who were thus brought in. One of them, after thirty-six years of separation and slavery in the Jebu country, was redeemed by her daughter, who now leads her to the Redeemer of her soul. As these mothers are too old to learn to read, we placed them together in one class, with a juvenile to teach them the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, etc., which they will soon know by heart. What a mercy that these persons are being brought into the fold at the eleventh hour, and that the Lord does not reject even such old sinners."

No sooner had Dahomey returned homewards than sad troubles arose from the war between Ibadan and Ijaye and Abeokuta. Mr. Gollmer writes:—

"June 7th: The sad news from the seat of war, of the defeat and great loss in prisoners the Abeokuta army has sustained in the dreadful battle last week,

cast a great gloom upon the whole town. Instead of our usual evening service, I held a prayer-meeting with our few people who attend on a Thursday, humbling ourselves before God on account of this great affliction, and praying that God, for the sake of the few righteous here, would not deliver this town and people into the hands of our enemies, but defend and deliver us."

At this time the missionary station of Ijaye was in great distress, and the brethren there suffered from scarcity of food and other privations. Mr. Gollmer among others was permitted to render them assistance.

The Rev. A. Mann, then in charge of Ijaye, writes: "I must not forget mentioning the great kindness Mr. Gollmer showed us in our distress, by sending us up four loads of food and two loads of cowries, with great inconvenience to himself and danger to his people. This is sympathy, not in words, but in deeds. Also the Rev. Mr. King sent some cleaned rice. The food of both friends was a present indeed."

A few more extracts from Mr. Gollmer's journals conclude the work of the year 1860.

"August 9th: During the last few months, a few hours have been daily employed in translating the fourteen tracts the Religious Tract Society sent me for that purpose; and, with the help of the Lord, I am happy to say I have completed the work to-day.

"August 10th: Proceeded to Ishaga to-day, in company with Mr. Roper, to pay my long-deferred visit.

"August 11th: Mr. Smith recommended to me seven adults—four men, one youth, and two women—for

baptism. To-day I spent about half-an-hour with each, examining and instructing them. Four of them belong to Abeokuta, but live about ten miles from Ishaga. It appears they have often heard the converts of Abeokuta speak about God's Word, and have watched them till last year, when they decided to serve the Lord, and are now anxious 'to be sealed,' or signed, *i.e.*, baptized; they are rather babes in Christ, but I felt I dare 'not forbid water,' that these should not be baptized. One of the men belongs to the town Igberé, near Ilaro: he came to Ishaga for work, and found the Lord. The youth belonged to Aibo, and was made a captive at the taking of the town by the Egbas two years ago, was manumitted by the Scripture-reader of Ishaga, and is now redeemed and made free by the Son of God. One of the women comes from the neighbourhood of the Benin: she was kidnapped, sold, and re-sold, till she reached this place, where she has found freedom both for body and soul. How wonderful are the dealings of God with the children of men!

"August 14th: I had now to retrace my steps homeward, for which I felt very sorry; but the war feeling among the people convinced me my missionary tour should not be at this time.

"November 27th: I must acknowledge the great pecuniary aid we have received from our kind friends of the 'Coral Fund,' who have not only assisted us in the redemption of some young people, but paid the ransom money for several children, and greatly aid us in our work by kindly providing the necessaries of life for these many other children, who by this means are

instructed and, I trust, trained for the Lord ; there are now upwards of sixty children in the care of the missionaries who are thus maintained, some for years, by the Coral Fund, and many times we should be at a loss how to redeem a poor child, and how to provide for it, but for this kind handmaid the 'Coral Fund.' Several churches also have been built in our mission by means of this fund. I believe few of our friends at home are aware of the silent growth of the 'Coral Rock,' and the important aid it affords in fostering mission schools.*

"December 2nd, Lord's Day : During our morning service I had the pleasure to receive twenty-one adults into Christ's Church by baptism. The grey-headed grandmothers, fathers, mothers, young men, and maidens were all alike anxious to be signed for the Lord."

* It is still doing a good work.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LAST DAYS IN AFRICA.

THE year 1861 was the last Mr. Gollmer was permitted to reside in Africa. The following extracts give a brief summary of the conclusion of his labours.

“Our missionary duties are various and numerous. In addition to being counsellor-general, one is called upon one day to act perhaps in the capacity of a judge, hearing and settling palavers, reconciling husband and wife, etc.; another day one must be a doctor, and prescribe and administer medicines for all sorts of complaints; at another to act as surgeon, especially with a houseful of children. One comes to have a ball extracted, and another a wound sewed up and bandaged. Then buildings are required, and one must be architect, and, if not master-builder, at least superintendent of the work: carpenters and other workmen are employed who require direction and attention. In truth, the missionary is at every one's bidding, regardless of his convenience, etc.; and to keep things together and carry the work forward, he must attend and look after small and great; and these multifarious engagements so occupy his time, that very often the day, the week, and the month is gone without having

done what we ought to have done. On July 1st a very successful missionary meeting, the first at Abeokuta, was held. The large church was crowded with about eight hundred converts. Four of the converts, representatives of the four churches at Abeokuta, spoke most feelingly, thanking God, the Society, and the missionaries for the Word of God, and urging their brethren and sisters in Christ to hold fast, and help the good work onward. Six of the Scripture-readers, with large calabashes, went from bench to bench to collect the cowries. These were speedily filled, refilled, and emptied on the ground near the pulpit; but many of the more wealthy and liberal contributors, because the calabash was not large enough to hold their gifts, came up and poured their cowries on the heap. The number of cowries thus collected was 192,400 (about £7 15s.), and the total contributions £24 10s. 3d.

“During the months of July and August it pleased the Lord to lay me aside and afflict me; but I can only praise Him, and say, with David of old, ‘It was good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn Thy statutes.’ I became so weak and low that my friends feared for my safety; but the Lord blessed the means used, and restored me to health and strength, to labour a little longer for His honour and glory. The devil, in his wicked activity, has hitherto kept pace with the raising of Christ’s banner and the establishing of the kingdom of God in this place; but he has been specially busy these last few years, and certainly many things have conspired together to favour his designs, and militated against us and our good work. Our

arch-enemy has succeeded in contaminating, ensnaring, and corrupting not a few from the ranks of the Lord, and he has, if possible, brought the heathen chiefs and people nearer to him, or, at least, prevailed upon many to commit sad acts of transgression against God, and to provoke the Holy One to anger.

“This is indeed a dark picture, calculated to make one feel sad ; but there is a bright side also, which we must not lose sight of. We are inclined to say, ‘All these things are against us’ ; but if we will lift up the veil, we behold the Lord yet on His throne, and must say, ‘He reigneth.’ We are permitted to worship our God in all quietness, though in the midst of heathen darkness ; to preach His Word regularly and faithfully, and to gather sheep into the fold ; and we feel sure the truth of God’s Word has such a hold of the hearts and affections of many, that even the gates of hell cannot prevail over the work of God here.”

Mr. and Mrs. Gollmer and their two children went down to Lagos the following year, 1862, and having left that port in April, they arrived at Liverpool on May 11th.

The following letter, addressed by Mr. Gollmer to the *Record* newspaper, shortly after his arrival in England, gives a very sad account of the state of the Yoruba country at the time :—

“For the information of your readers who take a deep interest in the welfare of Africa, I beg to state that the Yoruba Mission needs at present the prayers and support of God’s people more than ever. The enemy was permitted to take possession of some of our

posts, which I need not say was a great trial to the soldiers of the cross of Christ.

“On March 15th, 1862, Ishaga was destroyed by the army of the king of Dahomey. This town was a promising missionary station, only sixteen miles west of Abeokuta, and contained about five thousand industrious inhabitants.

“Rumours had reached Abeokuta that the Dahomians were out; also that they were seen near the river Iyewa, but it was not much thought of. The Dahomians, it appears, stole through the forests and towns to the neighbourhood of Abeokuta, and in the night of March 14th to the wall of the doomed town.

“Having made their arrangements for the attack, viz., placing a strong detachment on the road to Abeokuta to prevent the Egbas from going to the support of Ishaga, as in 1851, and placing other divisions at various points outside the wall to prevent the poor people from escaping, the main army entered the town about 8 a'clock A.M., and, being but little resisted, marched to the market-place.

“A thunder-like discharge of musketry was the signal for the poor inhabitants that they had fallen into the hands of a mighty enemy, and to the cruel Dahomians to commence the work of destruction.

“The attack was so unexpected and sudden that but very few people escaped. Several slaves to Dahomians ran to Abeokuta, who reported that all Ishagas who resisted were killed, and many others, old and young; that the work of destruction lasted all Saturday and Sunday; that upwards of one thousand people were

slain and beheaded, and their corpses thrown into heaps ; that on Sunday night the Dahomians left Ishaga, carrying about four thousand prisoners with them, all so tied that escape was next to impossible.

“Parties who visited the scene on Monday and following days state that there were many heaps of dead bodies all over Ishaga ; that their heads having been carried off none could be recognized ; and that the town and Church Missionary house and church were burnt to the ground.

“The Church Missionary Society has lost Mr. William Doherty,* a most valuable native agent, with about seventeen souls, men, women, and children, connected with the church. A runaway Egba, who was made a prisoner in the mission-house at Ishaga, reported that none of the church people were killed—they were all carried away as prisoners.

“Fortunately, the schoolmaster, with his family, some schoolchildren, and members of the church were still at Abeokuta for refuge. How sad to think another peaceful town is thus swept from the face of the earth, and thousands of souls are hurried into eternity ; and what will become of those four thousand prisoners ? We apprehend many will be sold into foreign slavery, and that a worse fate may await others ; horrible to think, they may be reserved as sacrifices for the ‘awful customs,’ when human blood is shed like water. How long will this monster of iniquity be allowed to destroy at will his innocent fellow-beings, and outrage every feeling, human and divine ?

* He afterwards escaped, and still survives.

“ Alas ! there is another chapter of an almost equally painful occurrence, viz., the destruction of Ijaye, a large Yoruba town, with a population of upwards of forty thousand, and five days’ journey from the coast. Ijaye has been besieged by a large party from Ibadan, etc., for the last two years, and was assisted in her defence by a small army from Abeokuta.”



THE "MISSION" AT LAGOS* (DECEMBER 1885).

CHAPTER XIX.

CONCLUSION.

MR. GOLLMER arrived in England very much shattered in health, unrecognized by his two elder children, from whom he had been separated for several years. He was sent by the doctors to a healthy watering-place in Kent. Here he remained for many years, with his faithful and devoted partner. She was called to her heavenly rest in God's providence in February 1883.

Mr. Gollmer spent much of his time in the revision of the Yoruba Scriptures, a quiet but important branch of missionary work sometimes forgotten.

The Rev. H. Townsend, in announcing, in his little Yoruba newspaper, the arrival of a box of Scriptures, wrote: "It is the first time we have had the whole New Testament in Yoruba; it has been revised and

* The following is a description of the illustration on p. 178. *Top Row*—Revs. W. Morgan, Chas. Phillips, J. White, Archdeacon Hamilton, Nathaniel Johnson, I. Oluwole, E. S. Willoughby. *Middle Row*—Rev. T. B. Wright, Mrs. Ingham, Bishop Ingham, Mrs. Darwin Fox, Rev. James Johnson, the late Rev. J. W. Dickinson. *In Front*—ev. F. W. Dodd, Rev. S. W. Darwin Fox.

corrected by the Rev. C. A. Gollmer, who has bestowed much labour and attention on the work."

Others also bore testimony to the value of this work.

The Rev. D. Hinderer wrote: "I give my sincerest thanks for your work, and thoroughly appreciate your painstaking and laudable accuracy, with all the ticklish dotting, not to mention other corrections."

The Rev. D. Phillips, American Baptist missionary, wrote from Abeokuta: "We should be very glad to have you back here, but I think you are doing one of the most essential and permanent works for this part of Africa. I pray God's blessing upon your labours. It must be a very arduous task, and one that requires much time."

And the Rev. Isaac Smith wrote: "I trust you are still pushing forward the work you took in hand, which will endure for Africa when we are silent in the grave."

This important work is still carried on with much vigour by a Revision Committee at Lagos, consisting of native clergy and other native gentlemen.

Mr. Gollmer was also occupied in deputational work for the Society, and thereby helped to stir up the interest of Christian people in England, more especially in connection with God's work in Africa.

At Margate, where he resided, he was local secretary for the Jews' Society, as well as for the London City Mission.

He was engaged in correspondence, both in English and Yoruba, with the native Christians and agents, many of whom valued his practical help and fatherly

U/11/ 7 Ran ti awon ti ise olori nyin, ti o ti nso oro n
 ati/1/ Olorun fun nyin: nigbagbo eni ti ki e ma to ati
 iwa/ lehin; ki e ma ro opin ero ise won.

8 Jesu Kristi, eni ana, eni oni, ati eni titi ati
 aye. lailai. okan na li, lati

-11/1/ 9 E mase je ki afi oniruru ati ekofajeji gba
 -11/1-1/ nyin kiri. Nitoripe a hun rere ni bi aba fi ore-
 1/1/1/ ofe fi idi aya kale; ki ise fi onje se, ti ko se
 -1/0/ anfani fun awon ti ati nlò ninu re.

1/0/ 10 Awa ni pepe kan, ninu eyi ti awon ti nsin o
 1/1/1/ agó kò lewo lati maje. agbara awon ara u

-1/1/1/ 11 Nitoripe ara eran wonni, eje eyiti amu wa -1/-1/
 1/1/1/ sino sankuru lati owó Olori alufa wa nitori ese, o/
 -1/ apon o lehin budo. ebi mimo, cu won

1/1/1/ 12 Nje nitorina Jesu pelu, ki ole fi eje re so. ara
 1/1/1/ awon enia di mimo, ojiya lehin bode. ara;

-1/1/ 13 Nitorina e je ki a jade to o lehin lo si budo. (be)
 -1/-1/ kiama ru egan re. (lo se o so re) (enu ona)

-1/1/1/ 14 Nitoripe awa ko ni ilu nla ti oduro pe
 -1/1/1/ nihin, sugbon anwa okan ti mbò.

U/-1/ 15 Nje nipase re e je ki aru ebò iyin si Olorun
 U/1/1/ nigbagbogbo, eyini ni eso ete wa, lati ma fi opé
 fun oruko re.

-1/1/1/ 16 Sugbon lati mase rere on ati ma se idapo
 1/1/1/ e mase gbagbe: nitoripe iru ebò be ni ino
 Olorun don si jojo. nyin

1/1/1/ 17 E gba ti awon ti ise olori nyin gbó, ki
 1/1/1/ e si lori nyin bale: nitori ti nwon nso (eso nitori) i
 1/1/1/ okan nyin, bi awon ti ko gbodo ma siro, ki nwon
 1/1/1/ ki ole fi ayò se e, laisi ibinije: nitori eyini se w/1/
 ailere fun nyin.

-1/ 18 E gbadura fun wa: nitoripe awa ni okan

19 nyin offer before Olori (awa gbakale pe)

advice. In God's providence, one of the sons of Kosoko, the former cruel king of Lagos, lived for some time under his roof, and learnt to read and pray in his own language, as well as in English, and afterwards became a useful agent of the Church Missionary Society in the Yoruba country. Mr. Gollmer suffered much during the last few years of his life, and was faithfully attended by his only daughter. He quietly passed away to be with Christ, after a few days' illness, December 23rd, 1886. His dying message to his sons, who were all three absent from England, was, "Faithful unto death."

The following is a brief sketch of Mr. Gollmer's life, which appeared in the *Record*, as well as in the local paper at Margate.

"IN MEMORIAM: CHARLES ANDREW
GOLLMER.

"Another of our veteran missionaries quietly entered into his rest two days before Christmas. Charles Andrew Gollmer will be remembered as one of those whom, well-nigh fifty years ago, Bale gave to the missionary field. He was born at Kirchheim-under-Teck, Wurtemberg, and entered the Bale Missionary Seminary in 1836. In 1840 he came to the Church Missionary College at Islington, and in 1841 was ordained Deacon and Priest by Bishop Blomfield. In the same year, on October 29th, he went to the Sierra Leone Mission-field, his age being then twenty-nine. He joined Townsend and Crowther in 1845 in beginning the Yoruba Mission, and from that year to 1855 was at Badagry and Lagos, at which latter place his son, the Rev. C. H. V. Gollmer, is now Church Missionary Society

Missionary. From 1857 to 1862 he was at Abeokuta. Some of our readers must have heard him tell with his own lips the story of the privations and difficulties amid which he laboured in Western Africa for the Master Whom he loved so well, and Whom he so long and so zealously served. When the state of his health compelled him to return to England, he took up his residence at Margate. During the twenty years of his sojourn there his sympathies were still with the work which he had reluctantly given up. He was as ready as ever to work, to speak, and to give for the heathen who lay so near his heart. The first part of these years he was engaged in translating the Holy Scriptures into the native tongue of those among whom he had gone preaching the kingdom of God. He translated into Yoruba 'Barth's Bible Stories,' the Prayer-book, the 'Peep of Day,' and various tracts and sermons; he also twice revised the Yoruba New Testament, and helped in the translation of the Old Testament. He was often employed in deputation work on behalf of the Church Missionary Society, and as lately as July last he spoke at a garden meeting in Harrow with much vigour and force (though then more than threescore years and ten) for a full hour. In February last, after the 'Simultaneous Meetings' held in Margate, it was out of his scant income that the one single large contribution given on that occasion was put in a quiet, unobtrusive way into the hands of the Vicar of Holy Trinity. And to show of what little worth is the reproach that an interest in foreign work interferes with the interest in home work, a post-card lying on his table after his death acknowledges the receipt of half-a-sovereign from him to help in providing 'Penny Dinners' for the poor children of Margate. Those who knew him best speak of him as having been pre-eminently a man of prayer. Frequently at night he has been found on his knees, alone with

God, pouring out his heart in earnest supplication and intercession. At family prayer he never forgot, we are told, to mention each of those belonging to him by name; and always at such times he prayed for all those still engaged in missionary work, for the Church Missionary Society, for the town in which he lived, the congregation with which he worshipped (Holy Trinity), and its clergy. His end was in accordance with his life.

“The Vicar of Holy Trinity, Margate, the Rev. Talbot Hindley, alluding to him on Sunday morning last, said :—

“ ‘ But an hour or so before he departed hence, as I held his hand in mine, and bent down to catch the disjointed sentences which amid the difficulties of breathing fell from his parched lips, I heard him praying for his children, for you and for me, for “all the dear servants of Christ, that they might be faithful to their Master and united in His service” ; and (showing what was still uppermost in his thoughts) “for the spread of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.” So after life’s fitful fever he sleeps well, and we can at best but dimly imagine what the rest and peace and joy must be now he sees his Lord face to face. You and I are left behind, and left to profit by an example such as he set. Left amid earth’s shadows to fight the battle, to bear the cross, to tread the pilgrim’s path; left however but for “a little while.” God give us grace to be like Charles Andrew Gollmer, faithful unto death, and then by-and-by we too shall receive a crown of life.’ ”

When the news of Mr. Gollmer’s decease was received at Lagos, much sympathy was shown by the native Christians with the family of his eldest son, then residing there.

The following letter, addressed by the Rev. James White, native pastor of St. Jude’s Church, Ebute Meta,

to the Rev. N. Johnson, native secretary of the Lagos Church Committee, shows how highly Mr. Gollmer's labours were appreciated :—

“EBUTE META, *February 28th, 1887.*

“MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is with deep regret that we received the sad and mournful intelligence of the death of our veteran and retired missionary, the Rev. C. A. Gollmer.

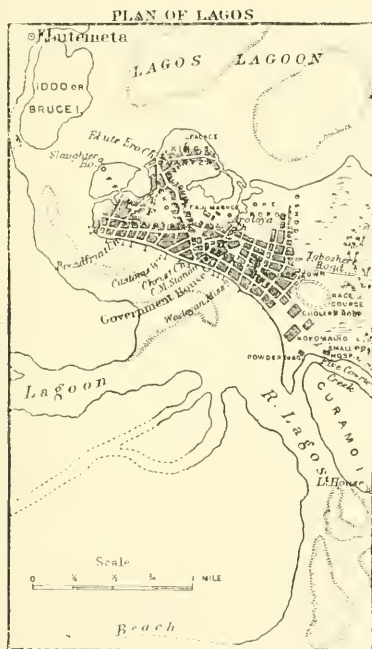
“This devoted servant of God came to Africa in the year 1841, and after labouring for some years at Bathurst, Sierra Leone, was transferred to the Yoruba Mission in the year 1843, making Badagry his headquarters, whence he endeavoured to introduce the light of the Gospel into many Popo towns and villages.

“On the taking of Lagos by the British Squadron in 1852, he joined the Rev. James White, then the catechist at Lagos, and laid the foundation of the first Protestant Church, of the name of St. Peter's, on the site where the Church Missionary Society's Grammar School now stands. From this place he visited Igbesa, Ota, and Ikorodu, labouring to kindle the light of Christianity at these places.

“About the year 1858 he removed to Abeokuta, whence he visited Isaga, Ibara, Ketu, and other places, sowing the seed of the Gospel.

“As a pioneer of the Gospel, and for-zeal and liberality, he is unsurpassed by any European missionary who has ever yet visited our shores. He promoted the cause of education . . . and did not cripple it by limiting the acquirements of the African to a few simple subjects. He had no objection to Greek and Latin being taught in the school under his superintendence, as far back as thirty-seven years, and the Rev. James White, S. Pearse, and Edward Buko, Messrs. Willoughby, Elliot, Puddicombe, Kester, and and others are among the fruits of his labour.

“The Alapako, viz. the owner or Possessor of Boards, the name by which he is universally known in the Yoruba country, as being the first person who erected a boarded house at Badagry and Lagos, is a household word in the

Stanfords Geographical Instab^l

lips of Sierra Leone immigrants, Badagrians, Lagosians, and Abeokutans. At Okeodan, on his way to Abeokuta, he was stripped of everything he had by the savage inhabitants, and at Ikorodu he was pelted with stones and forced out of the town in his endeavour to plant the banner of the

Cross there, whence it was his intention to reach the heart of the Ijebu country.

"In 1862 he was compelled through shattered health to return to Europe. Even here, far from the scene of his labour, his heart yearned for benighted Africa, nor did his zeal abate, but he encouraged and strengthened the hands of his fellow-labourers in the mission-field by obtaining subscriptions from kind Christian friends in England for the furtherance of God's cause, and by the translation of several tracts and books into the Yoruba tongue for the use of Yoruba Christian converts. Mr. Gollmer was the honoured instrument, in the hands of God, in the taking of Lagos by the British Squadron—in the restoration of the late King Akitoye to the throne of his ancestors, of which he was deprived by his nephew Kosoko, and of the abolition of the slave-trade in this island.

"A man of Mr. Gollmer's stamp, whose portrait we can but faintly sketch, deserves our consideration, and ought not certainly to be forgotten. It is, therefore, very desirable that something should be done to perpetuate the memory of so deserving a friend.

"May I respectfully request that the Church Committee take this matter into their kind consideration, and devise some plan for the raising of a fund, to be called the "Gollmer Memorial Fund," for the accomplishment of this object?

"I am, my dear brother,

"Yours sincerely,

"JAMES WHITE.

"REV. N. JOHNSON,
Sec. Church Committee."

In response to this letter, and after due consideration of the subject at a meeting of the Lagos Church Council and Church Committee, Bishop Ingham pre-

siding, it was unanimously agreed that there should be a memorial, to take the form of "Gollmer's Scholarships," for the training of youths in the Lagos Grammar School, and such as would like to be employed in missionary work.

Among several letters of sympathy received by Mr. Gollmer's eldest son, the following, from the venerable Bishop Crowther (still actively engaged in his work), is very interesting as the testimony of a fellow-labourer.

Extracts of a letter from the Right Rev. Bishop Crowther to the Rev. C. H. V. Gollmer.

"MISSION STATION, BONNY, *February 17th, 1887.*

"Having been a fellow-labourer with your late revered father for many years at the opening of the Yoruba Mission, I must relate a few recollections of his arduous exertions towards the solid accomplishment of the undertaking. When he was appointed for this mission at Sierra Leone, the first arduous work assigned to him was the preparation of two board frame houses to be shipped from Sierra Leone to the coast; one to be put up at Badagry, the other to be conveyed to Abeokuta, about eighty miles from the coast.

"The first house was put up at Badagry for the accommodation of the mission party; the other was removed to Lagos about 1852, when Mr. Gollmer took charge of this station—this house is the present mission-house.

"Hence this great missionary master-builder was named by the natives, as a superior epithet of distinction, 'Alapako,' the owner of the Board (house), the only building of the kind known in the whole country.

"Owing to his far-sightedness of the future wants of the

mission, he secured for the Society the following pieces of land at Lagos:—

“1. The mission premises, including the ground now occupied by the Government House; the ground where the Training Institution, the Collegiate Institution, and Day School House now stand; and the mission-house, Christ Church, and the Female Institution are erected on this ground without any expense of purchase of land for more room to the Society.

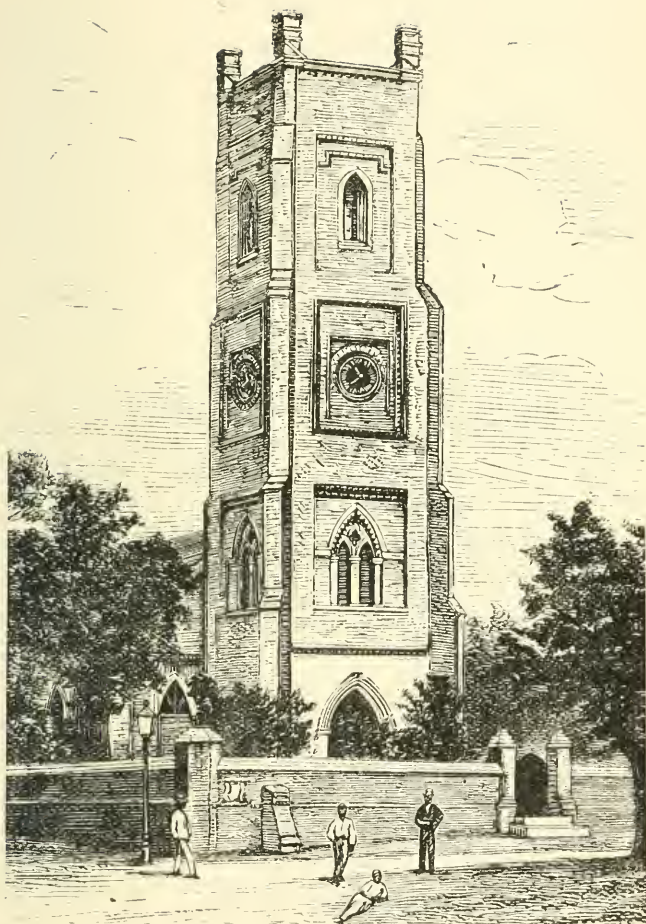
“This is one proof of his forethought in providing for this station.

“2. The next piece secured was that water frontage lot known by the name of Cotton Store, for industrial purposes; besides teaching cotton cleaning and pressing on it, it was used to open the Grammar School till another place was obtained; when it was no longer wanted for mission use, it was transferred to a mercantile hand without any loss to the Society.

“3. The Bread-fruit Station was next secured. Here a temporary bamboo preaching-place was erected, in the centre of a thick population of heathens and Mohammedans; the bamboo preaching-shed gave place to a mud wall church, which also gave place to the present St. Paul's, of solid brick walls, and the mud wall church is now the schoolroom to St. Paul's.

“4. Ebute Ero water frontage was secured, a place where large congregations of traders are accessible, to call their attention to hear the glad tidings of salvation. Here the Holy Trinity Church now stands.

“5. A place near the king's palace was next secured, where it would be convenient for His Majesty King Akitoye to attend service with his chiefs and household, without going through the street in state according to custom.



CHRIST CHURCH, LAGOS, BUILT BY THE LATE REV. J. A. LAME.

“Before any house was built, or any place of worship was put up at Lagos, he lodged in a native mud wall house, mud ground floor, near the present Court House, Tinubu Square ; his preaching-place was under the shade of the old trees in the street ; there he exercised himself in his earnest addresses in the native language, to invite the attentive audience to ‘Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.’ He was respected by all the population of Lagos, and was the confidant of King Akitoye and his chiefs. The memory of the just is blessed.

“S. A. CROWTHER.”

Reference was also made to the Church’s loss in the twelfth annual report of the Lagos Native Pastorate in the following words :—

“The Church has been called upon to lament the death of one of the most devoted, active, diligent, and laborious missionaries this country, but Lagos in particular, ever had : the Committee refer to the late Rev. C. A. Gollmer. The memory of this veteran missionary will long be cherished by many in Lagos, having been made an instrument, in God’s hands, in laying the foundations of the temporal and spiritual liberty we are now enjoying.

“Endowed with strong administrative abilities, with a singular penetrating foresight, coupled with surprising physical energy, he proved to be a right man in a right place at a right time, to render essential services to this country in more ways than one.

“His name indeed was once a household word ; and years to come some of the fruits of his labours in Lagos alone will yet be seen, admired, and enjoyed.

“Though he long retired from active missionary operations, yet he continued up to his death to watch with parental solicitude the scene of his past labours, testifying practically his warm interest by his many translations, by fervent prayers, by pecuniary and other gifts to aid in the furtherance of the objects the Committee now seek to carry out.”

In closing this brief memoir of one of God's servants, permitted, by God's mercy and grace, to be engaged in extending Christ's kingdom in the Yoruba country, we would recall the earnest and devoted labours of many others—God's faithful servants—some of whom have been called to lay down their lives in the cause of God and in the extension of His kingdom, labourers connected with other societies besides the beloved Church Missionary Society.

So wonderfully has God prospered the work at Lagos, that in December 1885 a “special Mission,” similar to that held in English parishes, was held in that town, and it is believed that, “through God's blessing, clergy and people alike have been quickened to a more living faith and a holier life.” (See p. 178.)

Moreover, in April 1887, so rapidly had the work spread, that at a Diocesan Conference held at Lagos, under the presidency of Bishop Ingham, it was unanimously agreed, after mature consideration, that the time had arrived for a division of the Diocese of Sierra Leone and for the appointment of a Bishop of Yoruba, having his residence at Lagos. (See Appendix C.)

The following is from the Society's Report for 1888, and will form a suitable conclusion to this memoir :—

"The Twelfth Annual Report of the Lagos Native Pastorate Association for the year ending March 31st, 1887, contains the annual sermons preached by the Rev. C. H. V. Gollmer at Christ Church, Faji, on June 7th, and by the Rev. J. White at Breadfruit on the following day.

"Mr. Gollmer, whose text was Psalm xcvi. 9, 10, referred in his introductory remarks to his late father's testimony as to the state in which he found Lagos. He said: 'Just about forty-three years ago an honoured servant of God, now resting from his labours, but then residing at Sierra Leone, wrote as follows:—

"“This morning, (December 17th, 1844), I heard that a slaver, with slaves from the Yoruba country on board, arrived during the night. I went at once on board, and found the Spanish ship *Diligence*, with 178 souls—69 men, 44 boys, 31 women, and 34 girls. They were shipped at the horrible place Lagos, and captured by H.M.S. *IVasp*.”

"“A few months after (August 17th, 1845), the same devoted servant of God, who had proceeded to Badagry, and who was longing to get a footing in Lagos, wrote: “Lagos is represented as a scene of horror; the whole town is nearly destroyed, and the numerous inhabitants reduced to but a few. Dead bodies are observed in all directions, too many to bury them. Some were thrown into the sea, which the sharks devoured, but many are yet lying about, sufficient to occasion a pestilence.”

"“A wondrous chain of circumstances has brought

about the marvellous change now to be seen in this respectable and flourishing town, once only known as one of the darkest places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty. Godly men and women have come and gone, and some have laid down their lives in the cause of Christ, and for the welfare of this country.

“ ‘Natives of the soil, ministers and laymen, have worked nobly for their country, and there has arisen in our midst more than one native church—for we do not in any wise desire to ignore the work of other churches,—there has arisen, I say, a young native church, just eleven years old, which we call “The Lagos Native Pastorate,” a young native church which has no cause to be proud; which has no cause to be self-satisfied (when we consider the multitude of heathen and Mohammedans around our very doors yet unevangelized), but a young native church which, nevertheless, should thank God, take courage, and go forward.’ ”

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

ON AFRICAN SYMBOLIC MESSAGES.

By the late Rev. C. A. GOLLMER.

AFRICAN symbolic language consists of messages which the natives in the Yoruba country, West Africa, in the absence of writing, and as a substitute for the same, send to one another in order to indicate and communicate their mind. This is effected by means of a variety of tangible objects, such as shells, feathers, pepper, corn, stone, coal, sticks, powder, shot, razor, etc., by which they convey their ideas, feelings, and wishes, good and bad, and that in an unmistakable, and if possible more forcible manner than can be done by writing, as the object transmitted is seen, the import of it known, and the message verbally delivered by the messenger sent, and repeated by one or more other persons accompanying the messenger for the purpose as the importance of the message is considered to require.

The shells made use of for this purpose are chiefly the cowries, with a few others. No cowries are found on the West Coast of Africa ; they are all imported by European merchants. The white cowries come from the Molucca Islands, and others are found in the Pacific Ocean, and the grey-looking ones come from the Island of Zanzibar, and other parts of East Africa. Cowries have long been and still are in use in West Africa, as in parts of India, etc., as the current money of the country, and the people make

also much use of them in their idolatrous worship. Cowries in the symbolic language are used to convey, by their number and the way in which they are strung, a great variety of ideas, as will be seen by the following, viz. :—

1. *One cowry* may indicate “defiance and failure”; thus: A cowry (having a small hole made at the back part, so as to be able to pass through it, and the front opening) strung on a short bit of grass fibre or cord, and sent to a person known as a rival, or one aiming at injuring the other, the message is: “As one finger cannot take up a cowry (more than one are required), so you one I defy; you will not be able to hurt me, your evil intentions will come to nothing.”

2. *Two cowries* may indicate “relationship and meeting”; thus: Two cowries strung together face to face, and sent to an absent brother or sister, the message is: “We are children of one mother, were nursed by the same breasts; we are one, what you hear from me is the truth: you look at me, and I look at you, but I want to see you yourself, and that face to face; come.”

3. *Two cowries* may indicate “separation and enmity”; thus: Two cowries strung back to back, and sent to a person gone away, the message is: “You and I are now separated. Let us keep what we promised; if you do not our friendship is dissolved; you turn away from me, seeking your own; I must turn away from you, and do not want you to come back to me.”

4. *Two cowries* and a *feather* may indicate “speedy meeting”; thus: Two cowries strung face to face, with a small feather (of a chicken or other bird) tied between the two cowries, and sent to a friend at a distance, the message is: “I want to see you; do not delay in coming, but as the bird (represented by the feather) flies straight and quickly, so come as quickly as you can, that I may see you face to face.”

5. *Two cowries* with a little *soap* and *camwood* may indicate "help and faithfulness"; thus: Two cowries strung face to face, with a small piece of native soap and camwood (a red dye) tied between the two cowries, and sent to a member of the family from home, the message is: "We are alike; you and I have been washed, and made clean with this soap; you and I have had our bodies rubbed over with this camwood (powdered and mixed with oil); having thus alike been helped, and faithfully attended to for good, let us be true, help and do all we can for the good of one another—you absent, and I at home."

6. *Three cowries* strung together, with their faces towards the long end of the string, are made use of by the *Ogbonis* in sending messages to one another.

Ogbonis are members of a secret society, men and women, chiefly of the older and better class of the people, whose professed object is "the good of the people and the country."

The *number* (three cowries) indicates that the message comes from a society or company, and the manner or way in which the three cowries are strung indicates that they all look to the same thing—*i.e.*, are of one mind. But the message communicated therewith (*i.e.*, delivered by the messenger) can only be heard and understood by those initiated into the secrets of the society. As the native proverb indicates, *viz.*: "*Ogboni meji li o mò idi Èta*"—*i.e.*, "Two *Ogbonis* (members of the society) know the meaning and matter of the three."

7. *Three cowries* with some *pepper* may indicate "deceit" thus: Three cowries strung with their faces all looking one way (as mentioned before), with an alligator pepper tied to the cowries, *Èru* being the name of the pepper in the native language, which in English means "deceit." The message may be either a "caution not to

betray one another," or more frequently, "an accusation of having deceived and defrauded the company."

8. *Five cowries* may indicate "sickness and pain"; thus: *Arun* in the Yoruba language means "five" (cowries or coins implied); it means also "sickness," from the verb *run*, to be sick, in pain, etc. Five cowries, strung with their faces all looking the same way, and sent to some one, the message is: "We are in the same way, viz., sick or suffering," or "We are alike pained and grieved by what we hear about you."

9. *Six cowries* may indicate "attachment and affection"; thus: *Efa* in the native language means "six" (cowries implied); it also means "drawn," from the verb *fa*, to draw. *Mora* is always implied as connected with *Efa*: this means "stick to you," from the verb *mọ*, to stick to, and the noun *ara*, body—i.e., you. Six cowries strung (as before mentioned) and sent to a person or persons, the message is: "I am drawn (i.e., attached) to you, I love you," which may be the message a young man sends to a young woman with a desire to form an engagement.

10. *Seven cowries* may indicate "ending or stopping": thus: *Eje* in the native language means "seven" (cowries, and here days, implied). By custom the worship, etc., of the executive god *Oro* may last seven days, and then it must end. Seven cowries, strung as before stated, sent to any one acquainted with, the message is: "There must be an end to our intercourse and friendship, etc., and all messages, etc., must be stopped now."

11. *Eight cowries* may indicate "likeness and agreement"; thus: *Ejo* in the Yoruba language means "eight," also "alike," "conform," "agree," from the verb *jọ*, to be alike, to agree, etc. Eight cowries strung (as before mentioned—i.e., all faces looking one way) and sent to some one, the message is: "We are like you, and agree with you respecting the matter," which is applicable of

course to a variety of things, and may be so to one thing in particular, viz., as a message of a young woman in answer to the message received from the young man, as per the six cowries' communication.

12. *Nine cowries* may indicate "benefit or revenge"; thus: *Ẹsan* in the native language means "nine" (cowries implied); it means also "to be better," and "to retaliate," from the verb *san*, to benefit, to reward. Nine cowries strung as usual, and sent to a friend or foe, the message to the former will be: "We hope you are in better health;" and to the latter: "We shall pay you with the same coin," i.e., retaliate.

13. *Forty cowries* may indicate "disturbance, trouble, and loss"; thus: *Ogoji* in Yoruba means "forty"—literally twice twenty—from *Ogun*, twenty; and *Eji*, two. But it means also a "fray," i.e., "double fight," from *ogun*, war, and *Eji*, two. Forty cowries (having a small hole made at the back—not the middle part of the cowry as usual, but near the pointed part) strung, so to say, upside down, and fastened to grass fibres, the end of which bending down through the weight of the cowry, and thus sent to a friend at a distance, the message is: "We have great excitement here; the place is, as it were, turned upside down, we are in great trouble; all people hang their heads down through rumours and fears of war."

The following fourfold message (14 to 17) was sent to me about thirty years ago by the King of the *Ijẹṣa* (Ijesha) country, five days' journey from Lagos interiorwards, and in a north-easterly direction.

14. *Ten cowries* may indicate "invitation." Ten cowries strung on a short and narrow strip of leather, the faces of the cowries all looking one way. *Ẹwa* in Yoruba means "ten" (cowries implied); *Ẹwa* means also "you come," from *ẹ* the prefix being (the contracted form of) the plural of the second personal pronoun—i.e., "you" (in which

form or language the higher classes of the people address, or speak to, one another, as servants also speak to their



* "COME."

masters to show respect, while the masters speak to their servants, etc., in the second person singular form—*i.e.*, "thou," and not "you," to indicate inferiority), and from *wa*, the verb, or, better, verbal noun, "come." The message was in the polite language, "You come," which was delivered by the messengers thus: "Our king has heard of the *Alapako*, and he wishes you to come and see him, and bring white men with you to live with him."

The name *Alapako* was given me by the natives; it means "owner of the board or timber house," from the fact that in 1845 I brought timber and boards for two houses from Sierra Leone to Badagry, where I had them erected.

One of them I subsequently took down, removed, and re-erected at Lagos—*i.e.*, the present Church Missionary House at Oko Faji, Lagos, near the Government House (pp. 17 and 144).

15. A *fan* may indicate "high station and authority"; thus: The king's messengers carried and handed to me, whilst delivering their messages, a good-sized fan, cut out of a dried cowhide, of a round shape, and about sixteen inches in diameter, with a handle attached, and ornamented with a number of figures, imitations of animals, and others worked on it in narrow stripes of coloured leather, and the message was: "A great man, the owner of the fan, and sender of the message, inviting a great man to come to him."

16. A *bean* may indicate "friendship and play"; thus:

* Drawn from the original.

The king's messengers handed me also two light grey-looking African beans, of the common marble size and form, and the message was : "When the great man Alapako visits the great man the King of Ijesa, they will sit down as friends and play together:" somewhat as friends at home sit down and play at chess or draughts, etc., with this difference, that the Africans have a thick piece of board about two feet long and six to nine inches broad, with two rows of about half-a-dozen holes or cavities scooped out. The players sit opposite to each other with the board between them, one after the other playing, *i.e.*, moving a number of the beans from one cavity to the other along his side.

17. A *sheep* may indicate "provision" ; thus : The king's messengers also brought and delivered to me two sheep. And the message was: "When the great man Alapako goes to visit the great man the King of Ijesa, he must take the two sheep and have soup made for him by the way."

The following fivefold painful symbolic message was sent by D., whilst in captivity at Dahomey, to his dear wife M., who happened to be staying with us at Badagry at the time. The symbols were a stone, a coal, a pepper, corn, and a rag. In great distress of mind M. came and showed us the articles, and told us the message received. During the attack of the King of Dahomey, with his great army of Amazons and other soldiers, upon Abeokuta in March 1852, D., one of the native Christians and defenders of his town, home, and family, was taken captive and carried to Dahomey, where he suffered much for a long time. M., anxious to do all she could to get her husband released, came down to Badagry, and earnestly begged me to help her in her efforts. And whilst waiting for weeks to know the result, she received the symbolic letter, which conveyed the following message :—

18. The *stone* indicated "health" (the stone was a small

common one from the street); thus the message was: "As the stone is hard, so my body is hardy, strong—*i.e.*, well."

19. The *coal* indicated "gloom" (the coal was a small piece of charcoal); thus the message was: "As the coal is black, so are my prospects dark and gloomy."

20. The *pepper* indicated "heat" (the pepper was of the hot cayenne sort); thus the message was: "As the pepper is hot, so is my mind heated, burning on account of the gloomy prospect—*i.e.*, not knowing what day I may be sold or killed."

21. The *corn* indicated "leanness" (the corn was a few parched grains of maize or Indian corn); thus the message was: "As the corn is dried up by parching, so my body is dried up or become lean through the heat of my affliction and suffering."

22. The *rag* indicated "worn out"; thus (the rag was a small piece of worn and torn native cloth, in which the articles were wrapped) the message was: "As the rag is, so is my cloth cover—*i.e.*, native dress—worn and torn to a rag."

Natives having frequently more names than one, and at Dahomey D. being only known by his other name, O., the efforts to redeem and release him failed. After much suffering D. was sold and shipped as a slave, but through the kind efforts of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, and the powerful influence of the British Government, D. was found at Havanah, set free, and restored to his country and family.

The following is a twentyfold symbolic representation and communication:—

During my visit to Ketu, a large fortified town near the Dahomian frontier, and about three days' journey west from Abeokuta, in August 1859, it happened one day, when paying the king another friendly private visit, that I observed the king's previously smiling and cheerful countenance changed for the worse, and that, instead of asking me to sit

by him at his usual place of reception, he led me through several rooms and courtyards to a small secret out-of-the-way place, where he asked me to sit down, and without greeting me as before with the usual salutations, and making the various customary inquiries ; but, looking at me in a somewhat unfriendly manner, and after a pause, he (the king) produced and placed on the ground before me twenty little sticks of different wood, each about eight inches long, and of the thickness of a finger, and asked me to take one of these twenty sticks (p. 152).

The change in my reception by the king, which before was most friendly, and now quite the contrary, with the strange place of audience, made me feel somewhat uncomfortable, and the placing of the twenty sticks before me not a little embarrassed and troubled my mind, this affair being beyond my eighteen years' African experience. I was puzzled, paused, and thought what it could all mean. The more I reflected the more reluctant I felt to do as I was asked, viz., to take one of the twenty sticks.

The king was silent, and so was I ; but he watched me all the while, and after another long pause, during which the king's countenance changed a little for the better, he broke the silence by saying, "I see you are perplexed, and do not take one of the sticks. Well, to explain the matter" (the king continued)—

23. "These *twenty sticks* represent the twenty of my young wives who visited you this morning at your lodgings. On their return home I was informed that you eyed one of them very much, and who was supposed to have done some mischief, which you by means of your supernatural power as a priest of God could discern in her, and therefore looked at her so much, but you would not say anything on account of the many people present ; so the twenty women have each brought their representative stick for you to prove and make known the guilty and clear the innocent."

I listened anxiously to this statement, and felt not a little uneasy when the king seriously spoke of my having "eyed" one of his wives, fearing, "An enemy has done this," and remembering that such charges frequently result in great trouble. And yet, after hearing the king out, and looking at him, I involuntarily smiled, which broke the spell of the king's gloomy countenance, and provoked a smile from him in return.

I now frankly and fearlessly stated what took place in the morning, when his twenty wives paid me a visit of honour on behalf of the king their lord, viz. : that nothing was said, either by his wives or by me, beyond the usual ceremonial salutations and inquiries ; that as a minister of God it was my duty and practice to read a portion of God's Word to my visitors, and that accordingly I read these words to them (reading the 128th Psalm), and told them these are the words of the true God. I then assured him that it was not true that I "eyed" one woman more than the other, and that neither I nor any other mortal man had such supernatural powers ; that God alone knows the heart of man, and the evil thereof. This statement the king accepted as true, gathered the twenty sticks, and smilingly said, "My wives will be glad to hear what you stated."

I thanked God for helping me out of my dilemma, for it was clear, if I had been wanting in reflection, and hasty in taking up one of the twenty sticks, the poor innocent woman represented thereby would have been seized and punished severely, and I should have been guilty of causing much injury and suffering to an innocent person.

To elucidate one of the above statements, I should mention that I was informed the Mohammedan priests assume, and make their credulous heathen neighbours believe, that they have supernatural power by means of which they can tell what bad deeds are done ; and the people, taking for granted that I as a white man, and priest

of God, must have this supernatural power in a higher degree than the Mohammedans, thus came to the conclusion as above stated.

24. A *tooth-brush* may indicate "remembrance"; thus: It is a well-known fact that the Africans in general can boast of a finer and whiter set of teeth than most other nations. And those Europeans who live long among them know from constant observation how much attention they pay to their teeth, not only every morning, but often during the day. The tooth-brush made use of is simply a short piece of wood (a medicinal root, etc.), and about six to nine inches long, and of the thickness of a finger. One end of the stick, wetted with the saliva, is rubbed to and fro against the teeth, a longer or shorter period as time and work may allow, which end after awhile becomes soft. This sort of tooth-brush forms an article of trade or commerce, is also frequently given to friends as an acceptable present, and now and then it is made use of as a symbolic letter, and in such a case the message is: "As I remember my teeth the first thing in the morning, and often during the day, so I remember and think of you as soon as I get up, and often afterwards."

25. A *kola* (or *gora*) *nut* may indicate "health and old age"; thus: *Orogbo* is the name for the bitter kola or gora nut, from *koro*, to be bitter, and *gbo*, to ripen; and this kola or gora nut contains tonic properties of the nature of quinine, and is eaten to promote health. When such a nut is sent to a friend, the message may be twofold, viz.: if sent to some one who is or has been ill, it conveys an inquiry after the health and a wish of good health; if sent to one in health it conveys the good wishes to come to maturity—*i.e.*, long life, grow old—which is one of the best wishes in the Yoruba country, because of the great honour old people are held in by the people generally.

Kola nuts (divided in quarters) and water are generally

offered to respectable visitors, natives and Europeans, whereby the person visited wishes welcome, peace, and health.

26. *Honey* may indicate "welcome"; thus: On one occasion, when wishing to visit a distant town and people, as a matter of precaution, not to get into any trouble in a new and unknown country on the one hand, and on the other to ascertain whether a visit was practicable, and that I might hope to be well received, I despatched messengers to the local authorities—*i.e.*, the king and principal chiefs—to inform them of my desire, and to be informed of their wishes. My men on their return were accompanied by messengers from the king, who brought not only the usual "message-stick," *i.e.*, object to identify the sender and verify the message (which may be a sceptre, sword, knife, staff, etc., according to the rank of the sender), but also two bottles of honey, which they handed to me with the message (answer): "That the king and chiefs will be glad to see me," or "As the honey was sweet, so will be my visit to them."

27. *Sugar* may indicate "peace and love"; thus: During the long and destructive war between the chiefs and people of the two large towns A. and I., in the interior, there were among the inhabitants of the two towns a number of people—native Christians—who, instead of hating and fighting one another, were at peace with and loved each other. And in the midst of the strife this good disposition was made known to one another by the following symbol:—A loaf of white sugar was sent by messengers from the native church at A. to the native church at I., and the message was: "As the sugar is white, so there is no blackness (*i.e.*, enmity) in our hearts towards you; our hearts are white (*i.e.*, pure and free from it). And as the sugar is sweet, so there is no bitterness among us against you; we are sweet (*i.e.*, at peace with you), and love you."

28. A *fagot* may indicate "fire and destruction"; thus : one mode of revenge in some parts of Africa is to set fire to an offender's house. Robbers may also avail themselves of this means to facilitate their nightly depredations and plunder, and sometimes the innocent are punished and made to suffer in this way by evil-disposed people. During the time of sad commotion, war and rumours of war, at Badagry (connected with the slave-trade), a most trying time for me and my family, as for weeks—yea, months—we had cause to apprehend an attack would be made upon us, as was intimated one night by the following symbolic object, viz. : A *fagot*, *i.e.*, a small bundle of bamboo poles, burnt on one end, was found fastened to the bamboo fence enclosing our compound, or premises, and which conveyed the message : "Your house will be burnt down"—*i.e.*, destroyed (p. 47).

29. *Powder and shot* may indicate "murder" or "war"; thus : Disputes and quarrels are, alas ! by far too common among the Africans, especially among the higher and ruling classes, and frequently jealousy and obstinacy lead to threatening messages being sent, intimating that revenge will be taken when this assumes a family, tribal, or national character. Powder and shot are often made use of and sent as a symbolic letter; the message is to either an individual or a people, viz. : "As we cannot settle the quarrel, we must fight it out" (*i.e.*, "We shall shoot you, or make war upon you").

30. A *razor* may indicate "murder"; thus : In Africa, alas ! many people die an unnatural death. The Yorubas have only too good a knowledge of the poisons (vegetable, animal, etc.) that abound in their country, and only too often they make use of one sort or other to shorten the lives of one another, and this takes place mostly among chiefs, the ruling powers and higher classes of the people. Other means also are employed to take revenge, and put an

enemy out of the way (*i.e.*, kill him), and that in as secret a manner as possible. A person suspected and accused of having by some means or other been the cause of death of a member of a family, the representative of that family will demand satisfaction by sending the symbolic object, *viz.*, a razor or knife, which is laid outside the door of the house of the accused offender and guilty party, and the message is well understood to be: "You have killed or caused the death of N. ; you must kill yourself to avenge his death."

31. A certain *sound* or *noise* may indicate "the presence, voice, and speech of a god;" thus: *Oro* is the name of the executive god of the Yorubas. And as *Ifa*, the consultive god, is not represented, as other gods, by an image in human form, but by sixteen sacred three and four-eyed palm-nut stones, so is *Oro* the executive god represented otherwise than by an image, *viz.*, by certain implements, consisting of sticks and poles from six to twelve feet long, with a piece of good strong cord, from four to six feet long, fastened to the thin end of the sticks and poles, and with a thin piece of board from two to four inches broad and two to four feet long fastened to the other end of the cord. The larger of these implements are put together and used by men, and the smaller by boys; and the poles and sticks are so moved about as to cause the piece of board to swing in the air, by which, according to size, either a deep sonorous or sharp shrill sound is produced, somewhat like *wu-wu-wu*, longer or shorter according to the slow or quick moving of the implements. These sounds are heard generally after dark and for hours, seldom the whole night; and at times, when a number of these different implements are in use at a given spot, the sound is most melancholy and dismal, intimidating not only native but even European females. These sounds are sometimes heard in the daytime, but only at a distance from a sacred grove or a neighbouring forest, so that the women cannot see the

implements or know how the sound is produced, lest the secret of the men in this matter should be divulged and spoiled. For the men impose upon the female sex, making them believe that these sounds are the voice of *Oro*, the executive god—*i.e.*, “the voice of the departed spirits of their ancestors” (the deep or low sound being the voice of the old, and the shrill that of the young ones), “and that they are come for the purpose of holding a council and to judge matters.” The nature and doings of this god are understood to be a secret known to the male sex only: but no doubt a number of women know a good deal about it, though they dare not and do not talk about it, from fear of *Oro* punishing them (p. 149).

The control of this god *Oro*, or the sayings and doings in his name, are chiefly in the hands of the *Ogbonis*—*i.e.*, the elder members of the secret society mentioned under paragraph six, for they appoint the time when, and determine for how many days (one, two, or up to seven), *Oro* is to make his appearance in public. And they order the town criers to give public notice previously of the day fixed, so that the women may have time to provide and store up in the house the needful food, water, firewood, etc., for so many days, so that the objects of *Oro*, or rather the designing men, may not be interfered with, which are: to deprive the women of their privilege of attending the public meetings proposed to be held by the men; to compel all women old and young, high and low, to remain indoors, and on pain of death not to appear in the streets; and also that the men may be able quietly to hold their meetings, discuss plans, and decide upon important matters, which may be the execution of criminals, planning a war expedition, or offering a human sacrifice, etc., unknown to the women, who might otherwise frustrate their purpose.

32. *Fire* may indicate “punishment”; thus: *Sango* (Shango) is the name of the god of thunder and lightning

of the Yorubas. Thunder and lightning in Yoruba are most awfully grand, the peals of thunder being often terrifically loud and powerful, shaking the very ground under one; and the flashes of lightning are not only exceedingly vivid, but great masses of fire, and often destructive, people being killed and houses set on fire by it; and from fear thousands of poor ignorant heathen people worship this terrible and destructive god, that he may not punish them. When there is a storm thousands of the worshippers perambulate the streets, shouting mightily with every peal of thunder and flash of lightning. And when a thatch roof of a house or compound is set on fire, many assemble there and sing and dance around the burning place, making no attempt, nor permitting any one to attempt, to put the fire out, shouting, "It is holy fire, the fire of Sango." They say: "Sango punishes the owner for some offence, by burning down his house." "Sango is punishing him also by giving all his property to his worshippers." Accordingly they plunder the premises, and rob the poor man and his family of all they possess. And as a further punishment the head of the family has to pay a fine in money, *i.e.*, cowries, to the worshippers before he is allowed to rebuild his house (p. 131).

33. A *leopard* may indicate a "human enemy"; thus: In the early part of my residence at Lagos, just thirty years ago, a leopard swam across from the mainland to the island of Lagos, and the Church Missionary House being at that time the first or last house of the town, *i.e.*, in coming from or going to the sea, we had the first visit from the leopard, the forest monster. Unannounced he leaped over our compound wall, but not finding what he was in search of—*i.e.*, a lamb, sheep, or bullock—he as unceremoniously left, leaped over the wall again, and proceeded into the town, where, in an open place, he met two men, who kept watch because of human enemies being feared to come and attack the town. The leopard sprang upon one of the men, dug

the claws of one of his fore feet into the man's shoulder, and the other on his forehead, the man embracing the body of the leopard tightly ; whilst in this position the other man shot and killed the leopard. The following morning the men brought the dead leopard, a fine large animal, to me for inspection, etc., the head of the leopard being covered up that the women might not see it, because it was said and believed that the leopard was one of their great human enemies metamorphosed.

34. A *necklace* may indicate "slavery"; thus: Some slaves have to wear a certain necklace—*i.e.*, a string with a few beads fastened round their neck, which indicates that they are in bondage—*i.e.*, slaves. When such a person by any means is redeemed, the best and only proof of being no longer a slave, but a free person, is the taking off of the said necklace.

35. A *book* may indicate a "bookman"—a missionary ; thus: Native kings, chiefs, warriors, etc., hand their messengers an object, which may be a sort of sceptre, sword, staff, etc., to show that they are sent with authority to deliver a message. European officers, merchants, and others, in imitation of this native custom, generally give the messengers they send to native authorities a fine large silver-headed staff, and for the same purpose, as without it chiefs would hardly credit the message sent. We missionaries, not being provided with such a staff, gave our messengers a book instead, by which they were known to come from the bookman—*i.e.*, the missionary, and the messenger had also liberty and the advantage, after delivering his message, to read a portion from his Yoruba book.

36. A *shirt* may indicate an *Oyibo*—*i.e.*, a "white man," or "belonging to the white man." Shirts are of course worn by all Europeans or white men, also by most natives employed by them. White men are much respected in West Africa, and the natives connected with them come in

for a share of the respect. Natives entirely unknown to, and unconnected with, white men, when travelling up and down in the interior, and unsafe places specially, frequently resort to the stratagem of providing and wearing an English (European) shirt, which they find to be the best possible passport and protection, by means of which they are allowed to pass unmolested, because the shirt indicates the wearer to belong to, or to be connected with, or employed by, the white man ; and robbers, waylaying travellers, regard such a one as an unlawful subject of plunder, and do not trouble him, as they believe he belongs to the white man.

37. Symbolic salutations are constantly received from—

(1) Blacksmiths, who will salute passing chiefs, friends, and others whom they respect, by striking their anvil with a piece of iron in a peculiar but well-understood manner.

(2) Weavers (who generally sit and weave out of doors) salute the same class of people, as mentioned before, by moving their shuttle to and fro, and thus produce a peculiar rattling noise, which is also understood as a complimentary salutation.

(3) The drummers going about the streets will salute authorities, and such as they desire to honour, by beating their drums and producing certain well-understood speaking sounds.

(4) The musician will do the same—*i.e.*, blowing his horn or fife, and making it speak instead of the mouth.

I am aware there are other objects by which symbolic messages are conveyed among the Yorubas, but I can add no more to the present communication.

APPENDIX B.

ONE of the important subjects discussed at the Diocesan Conference held at Lagos, April 1887, was "The Marriage Tie." The following interesting document gives a summary of the views of the Yoruba Church on this subject :—

MEMORIAL FROM THE YORUBA DIVISION OF THE DIOCESE OF SIERRA LEONE.

TO HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

"May it please your Grace, We, the Bishop of Sierra Leone, English and African Missionaries of the Church of England, engaged in Church Missionary Society work in the Yoruba country, in Western Africa, and Pastors of Native Churches, desire to approach your Grace, and to record our firm and sincere convictions, grounded on practical experience of work in this country, on the subject of polygamy.

"We have heard that this question is being debated in the Mother Church, and we are hopeful that it will receive its due attention at the approaching Conference of Bishops, but we feel constrained at once to express our view of the matter.

"We consider that we are in the very best part of the world to see the evil of this system ; we are well and painfully aware of its complications, and we clearly see how it hinders our efforts in the matter of evangelization. Polygamy is to this part of the world what ancient heathen systems of belief are in India and China. It forms the principal

barrier in our way. We believe that to remove it, however, in the way some would suggest would be to remove all test of sincerity and whole-heartedness in embracing the Christian faith, and thus lead to the admission of a very weak and heterogeneous body of converts; and we are certain that the effect of any—the least—compromise in the view hitherto maintained of the Christian marriage tie, would be a great blow to Christian morality in these parts.

“We respectfully request our ecclesiastical leaders to give forth a united utterance on this subject, as soon as may be, for we are of opinion that for it to be treated as an open question is in itself a weakness to the Church, and an additional difficulty to us in our very arduous efforts for Christian purity in this part of Africa.

“We, who sign this memorial, are in Conference assembled at Lagos, in the southern division of the Diocese of Sierra Leone, a conference convened by the Bishop to consider this and other matters, and we are present as representatives, lay and clerical, from various parts of this Yoruba country.

“We are your Grace’s humble servants in Jesus Christ,
“(Signed)

“ERNEST GRAHAM, Bishop of Sierra Leone.

“JAMES HAMILTON, Archdeacon of Lagos.”

Here follow the names of eighteen clergy, of whom four are European and fourteen African; also the names of the twenty-five lay members of the Conference.

APPENDIX C.

MEMORIAL TO THE BISHOP ON THE DIVISION OF THE DIOCESE.

TO THE RIGHT REV. DR. INGHAM, D.D., LORD BISHOP
OF SIERRA LEONE.

“LAGOS, *April 23rd*, 1887.

“MY LORD,—We the undersigned Ministers, Pastors, and Delegates, in connection with the Church Missionary Society and the Native Church, desire to humbly and respectfully approach your Lordship on the following important subject affecting the interests of the whole of the Yoruba Mission.

“1. We do desire gratefully to assure your Lordship of our high appreciation of the Episcopal Visitation this southern portion of the Diocese receives from time to time, and of the incalculable benefits conferred on it on such occasions.

“2. We, however, must confess to a fact which we believe is also obvious to your Lordship, that owing to the large extent and scattered nature of the Diocese, this portion is not receiving the episcopal supervision which it deserves.

“3. Having taken into consideration the vast extent of the Yoruba mission, the increase of clerical and other agencies, which demand episcopal advice, guidance, and direction, the gradual increase of churches to meet the growing number of worshippers, scattered here and there in the field, we feel the absolute need of a resident head to

direct the whole machinery for greater efficiency in the work which is everywhere being carried on in the country.

“4. We would therefore be thankful if your Lordship would kindly take this matter into your serious consideration, and adopt such measures as would lead to a division of the Diocese, and thereby give this part a more effective episcopal supervision than it has hitherto enjoyed.

“5. We may be allowed to state, for the information of your Lordship, that it is the general feeling that it will be for the interests of the Church, that in case such a division be made the Bishop should be a European, having his headquarters at Lagos.

“We beg leave to remain,

“Your Lordship’s obedient servants.”

Here follow the names of nineteen clergy, of whom five are European and fourteen African ; also the names of fifteen Delegates and Churchwardens.

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